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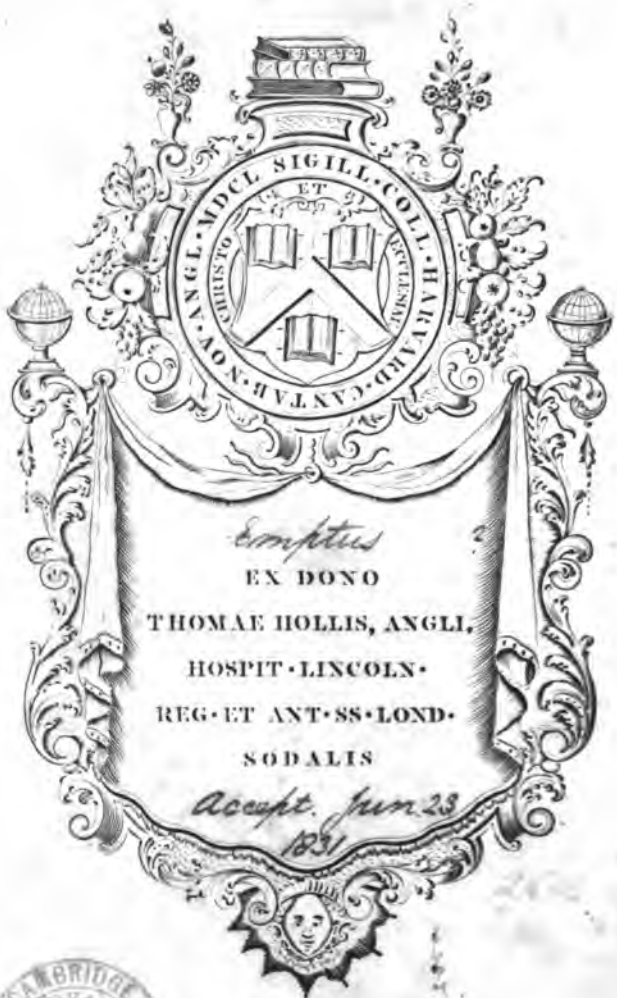

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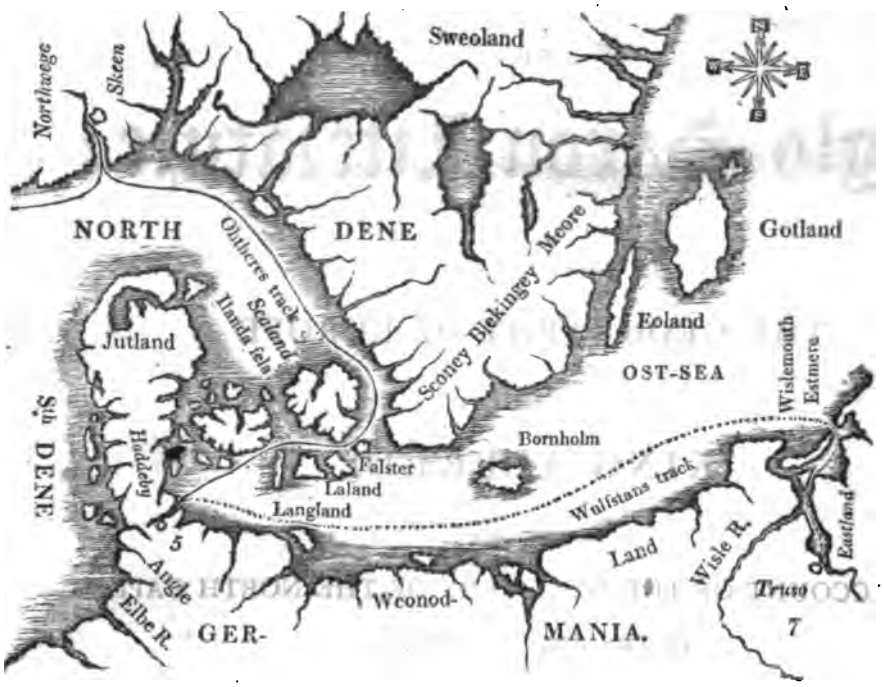

Two VOYAGES in the BALTIC

in the Ninth Century.

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AN

INAUGURAL LECTURE

ON

THE UTILITY

OF

Anglo-Saxon Literature;

TO WHICH IS ADDED

THE GEOGRAPHY OF EUROPE

BY

KING ALFRED,

INCLUDING

HIS ACCOUNT OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE NORTH CAPE

IN THE NINTH CENTURY.

BY

THE REV. JAMES INGRAM, M. A.

FELLOW AND TUTOR OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD,

AND ANGLO-SAXON PROFESSOR.

OXFORD,

AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS FOR THE AUTHOR.

Sold by J. Cooke and J. Parker, Oxford; Payne and Mackinlay, Strand,
and J. White, Fleet Street, London.

1807.

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TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

LORD VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH.

MY LORD,

HAVING obtained permiſſion to dedicate to your Lordſhip the following Eſſay on the Utility of Anglo-Saxon Literature, I have endeavoured to render it more worthy of your acceptance, by adding thereto a ſmall ſpecimen of KING ALFRED's Saxon labours; hoping that a Monarch, who was the glory of his own and of all ſucceeding ages, may henceforward be admitted into the liſt

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of the royal and noble authors of England; an honour, of which the late Lord Orford probably would not have deprived him, had he been able to read and underſtand the language in which he wrote. For perhaps no author can be found, either noble or royal, whoſe name is calculated to add ſo much luſtre and dignity to the catalogue, as that of ALFRED!

In addition to the private motives of gratitude and regard, which will always enſure my attachment to every part of your Lordſhip's family, I feel a peculiar pleaſure, as I think there is a peculiar propriety, in ſubmitting the firſt fruits of my Saxon ſtudies to your patronage and protection. The moſt valuable part of the laws, the conſtitution, and the religion of England, is undoubtedly built on a SAXON foundation. Thoſe laws, that conſtitution, and that religion, have always been uniformly ſupported by your Lordſhip with the prudence of a Stateſman, the integrity of a Patriot, and the feelings of a Man. As a diſtinguiſhed member alſo of the Univerſity of Oxford, and a ſincere lover of literature, you will naturally be diſpoſed to give a favourable reception to a work, prepared within thoſe walls where your Lordſhip's father paſſed the claſſical hours of his academical life.

The preſent age, my Lord, from a faſtidious apprehenſion of flattery, has aboliſhed the cuſtom of long dedications; I ſhould otherwiſe be diſpoſed to imitate the example of the learned author of the Epiſtolary Diſſertation on the Utility of Northern Literature,

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ture, in order that thoſe, who might not find leiſure or inclination to proceed any farther in the work, might at leaſt be induced to read the dedication from a reſpect for your Lordſhip. But perhaps it is unneceſſary to treſpaſs on your time and attention, by accumulating tedious and elaborate proofs of the importance of Saxon literature, which is now ſo generally felt and acknowledged. There is one circumſtance, however, in its favour, which ought to be mentioned in juſtice to your Lordſhip and other diſtinguiſhed perſons. This department of literature is intimately connected with the general objects of that grand deſign, ſo worthy of a great nation, for the execution of which your Lordſhip was appointed one of the earlieſt and ableſt Commiſſioners; I allude to that magnificent meaſure adopted by the Britiſh Parliament for the arrangement, preſervation, and PUBLICATION, of ſome of the principal RECORDS of the Kingdom; and it is with ſatisfaction I read, "that the ſame motives which encouraged your prede-
"ceſſors to intreat his Majeſty's directions for printing the ancient
"Records of Domeſday, and the Rolls of Parliament, have alſo
"induced you to ſubmit to His Majeſty's wiſdom your deſire of
"extending the ſame meaſure to other ancient and valuable mo-
"numents of our Hiſtory, Laws, and Government."

As I can only preſume to ADMIRE ſo noble a deſign, my purpoſe will be ſufficiently anſwered, and my labours abundantly rewarded, if I contribute in the ſmalleſt degree to excite attention to thoſe valuable monuments of our national hiſtory, hitherto too much

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much neglected or misunderstood, which may not only be subjects of curiosity to an antiquary, but may also afford interest and amusement to the statesman, the patriot, and the scholar.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

Your most obliged

And most obedient faithful servant,

JAMES INGRAM.

TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD.
November 16, 1807.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

IT was my intention to diſmiſs this work without the formality of a preface; but, ſince the whole was printed off, I have had an opportunity of examining the original MS. of Alfred's Oroſius, preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum, from which the Bodleian MS. was tranſcribed by Junius. Mr. Ellis, of the Muſeum, has alſo informed me, that a very fine MS. of the ſame work has been lately purchaſed from the Lanſdowne Collection. There is very little doubt, that both theſe MSS. were written about the time, or in the reign, of King Alfred, by one of thoſe *writeras*, writers, or ſcribes, whom he is known to have employed to tranſcribe and multiply copies of all thoſe uſeful works, which he ſuppoſed would contribute to the improvement of his people. The tranſlation of Oroſius is one of the moſt extraordinary productions of this kind; and, as an epitome of ancient hiſtory, it well deſerves to be more generally known; but for that purpoſe it ought firſt to be correctly printed, *which has not yet been done:* if, however, the public ſhould think it important enough, I can only ſay, that, as far as it depends on me, *it ſhall be done.* It is time, that the fame of Alfred, and the unvarniſhed language of our Saxon anceſtors ſhould no longer be ſullied by the errors of later ages, and the ignorance of ſuperficial pretenders to *refinement.*

In the preſent ſtate of Anglo-Saxon literature, I have deemed it neceſſary to add an Engliſh tranſlation, with notes, to this ſhort ſpeci-

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ſpecimen of our ancient language; for, as Biſhop Nicolſon obſerved more than a century ago, "THE WORLD IS NOT YET SO "WELL STOCKED WITH MEN SKILLED IN OUR SAXON LANGUAGE AND "ANTIQUITIES, AS WE MAY HOPE TO SEE IT *."

I have lately ſeen in the Britiſh Muſeum a copy of the work of Buſſæus, mentioned p. 91. from which it is evident, that the Saxon language was not underſtood at Copenhagen in the year 1733, and that the editor undertook to *print* what he could not even *read*. His geographical notes are chiefly extracted from the Oxford edition of the voyages of Ohthere and Wulfſtan.

Some apology, perhaps, may here be expected for the inconſiſtent orthography, which the reader will ſometimes find in the following work. In conformity to general cuſtom, I have ſacrificed to the ſhade of Dr. Johnſon, in allowing ſuch anomalies as *honourable, favourable,* &c. which are neither Latin, nor French, nor Engliſh, to paſs uncorrected; while, on the other hand, I beg the printer may not be blamed, if I have ſometimes introduced innovations, as in *iland, rime, Rine, Rone,* &c, if that can be called an innovation, which was the regular orthography of our language a thouſand years ago. The minuteneſs of verbal criticiſm is tedious, even when apparently neceſſary; I will therefore only obſerve with reſpect to our preſent orthography, that a few hours attentively dedicated to Saxon literature, will be ſufficient to overthrow the authority of every dictionary and grammar of the Engliſh language, that has been hitherto publiſhed.

* From an *unpubliſhed* letter to Mr. Thwaites, dated Dec. 16, 1697. MS. Bodl.

INAUGURAL

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INAUGURAL LECTURE, &c.

AS the eſtabliſhment of an "Anglo-Saxon Lecture or Profeſſor-"ſhip" is of very late origin in this Univerſity, and as there is no inſtitution of a ſimilar kind elſewhere [a], it may probably be ima-

[a] At Cambridge, indeed, Archbiſhop Uſher, in conſequence of a donation from Sir Henry Spelman, propoſed to Profeſſor Wheloc, in the year 1640, a plan by which Saxon literature might be promoted in that Univerſity; which was, to read and explain the Saxon Goſpels. But Wheloc preferred the more uſeful labour of a Saxon editor. On the death of Profeſſor Wheloc, the learned Mr. Somner ſucceeded him in the Saxon department, and, after the example of his predeceſſor, he endeavoured to make his labours *generally* uſeful through the medium of the *preſs*: "quo multo magis" (ſays he, in the dedication of his Saxon Dictionary to Roger Spelman, Eſq.) "quam *Academica prælectione*, ut veriſimile fuit, "linguam eſſem promoturus." What is become of this Saxon Profeſſorſhip at Cambridge, and of the "*perenne* præmium et ſtipendium," mentioned by Somner, I know not; but I ſhould be glad to find, that my obſervation above is incorrect, and that the endowment of Sir Henry Spelman is ſtill in exiſtence. The Saxon MSS. in Bene't College Library are extremely valuable, and great aſſiſtance might be derived, in the cultivation of this kind of literature, from the correſpondence of a Saxon Profeſſor in the ſiſter Univerſity. That the nature of the Oxford endowment may be better known, as there are ſome peculiar clauſes and reſtrictions belonging to it, I have given a few extracts from the Will of Dr. Rawlinſon, in an Appendix to this Lecture, No. I. Some additional obſervations alſo, reſpecting the well-intended donation of Sir Henry Spelman at Cambridge, will be found in the Appendix, No. II.

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gined by many, not only that this department of literature is of a barren and unintereſting nature in itſelf, but that it has been deſervedly neglected by the good ſenſe of mankind, as obſolete and antiquated, and no longer applicable to any uſeful purpoſe in the purſuit of general knowledge. To thoſe, however, who have diligently and attentively examined the ſubject, the contrary appears manifeſtly to be the caſe in both reſpects; and it ſhall therefore be my endeavour, in the Lecture which I have now the honour of ſubmitting with all due deference to this reſpectable audience, to prove ſeveral material points in favour and recommendation of Anglo-Saxon literature.

I. In the firſt place, I will endeavour to ſhew, that the ſtudy of Anglo-Saxon literature has never been neglected or vilified by men of learning, but, on the contrary, has been uniformly cultivated and promoted; and that the importance of it has been always maintained to the preſent time by men of the firſt rank in the republic of letters, for their accurate taſte, ſound judgment, and profound erudition.

II. I ſhall then proceed to examine, what inducements there are to the cultivation of Anglo-Saxon literature; and theſe, I truſt, will be allowed to be ſufficiently ſtrong and powerful, if it ſhall appear, that the knowledge of it is of the greateſt importance to Engliſhmen, and that it is intimately connected with the original introduction and eſtabliſhment of their preſent language and laws, their liberty, and their religion.

III. In the laſt place, I will venture to ſuggeſt, that it is not only of this *particular* importance to Engliſhmen, but that it is alſo capable of being made a ſubject of *general* intereſt in the purſuit of univerſal knowledge, and may ſerve as a medium of illuſtration to thoſe, who are diſpoſed to ſtudy and inveſtigate the philo-

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philoſophical principles of grammar [b], and the true theory of language.

I. In the firſt place then, if we diligently examine the whole hiſtory and progreſs of Saxon literature in this country, we ſhall find that, ſo far from having been totally neglected at any time, it has been uninterruptedly cultivated and continued to this day amongſt us by the public-ſpirited exertions of illuſtrious and learned men, who ſuffered no obſtacles to overcome their ſenſe of its utility. And ſuch conduct, ſurely, muſt be allowed to be not only laudable on their parts, but natural, when we conſider, that THE GREAT MASS OF THE PEOPLE OF THIS COUNTRY ARE STILL OF SAXON ORIGIN; a fact, which will be more fully confirmed hereafter [c]. That veneration, therefore, is not only laudable, but natural, which, notwithſtanding the overwhelming torrent of the Norman uſurpation, has been uniformly cheriſhed, from a very remote period to the preſent time, for the language, the liberty, and the laws of our Saxon progenitors.

Indeed, no ſooner did the Saxon inhabitants of this country begin gradually to emerge from that ſtate of abject vaſſalage, into which they had been plunged by their Norman conquerors, no ſooner did the commonalty of this realm fill a third department in the ſtate, holding the balance even between baronial ariſtocracy on the one hand, and regal deſpotiſm on the other, no ſooner did this glorious æra commence in our political conſtitution, than a

[b] The word GRAMMAR is here uſed in that enlarged, comprehenſive, and *proper* ſenſe, in which it was originally underſtood, when it was a ſubject of ſcientific inveſtigation to philoſophers, and not yet made the terror of children; when it was analyzed and ſimplified by an Ariſtotle and a Theodectes, not perplexed by the ſophiſtries of an Ariſtarchus and a Palæmon. (Vide Quint. I. 4. et Juvenal. Sat. VI. 451.) A *Grammaire Raiſonnée* is ſtill a deſideratum.

[c] Vide p. 12.

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manifeſt change took place in the general complexion of our language and literature. Amidſt the factions of the nobility, and the diſtreſſes of the crown, the PEOPLE [d] at length roſe into conſequence. The increaſing wants of ſociety eſtabliſhed a chain of political and commercial intercourſe; the common intereſts of all ranks were united; the connection between town and country became more cloſe and permanent; and the language of the peaſantry was inſenſibly blended with the language of the court. At length, in the reign of Edward the Third, CHAUCER undertook to delineate in native colours the variegated manners of his countrymen, and conſidered no ſtation in life beneath the notice of a poet. With the refinements of the polite world he mingled the rude ſpeech of the ruſtic, and taught the French and Italian heroes of chivalry and romance to appear in an Engliſh dreſs. Indeed, the pen of this elegant writer appears to have atchieved as great a conqueſt over the other languages of Europe, as the ſword of his royal maſter obtained over the monarch of France [e].

[d] By PEOPLE I mean *populus*, not *plebs*; δημος, not πληθος. "Hoc quo pertineat, dicet qui me noverit."

[e] My veneration for Chaucer will not allow me to aſſent to the *heretical* opinion of Verſtegan in the following paſſage: "Some few ages after came the "Poet *Geffery Chaucer*, who writing his poeſies in *Engliſh*, is of ſome called the "firſt illuminator of the *Engliſh* tongue: of their opinion I am not, (though I "reverence *Chaucer*, as an excellent Poet *for his time*.) He was indeed a great "mingler of *Engliſh* with *French*, unto which language, by like for that he was "deſcended of *French* or rather *Wallon* race, he carried a great affection." (Reſtitution of decayed Intelligence, &c. c. 7.) How far Chaucer merits this cenſure, I intend to examine more minutely in an Eſſay or Lecture which I am preparing, the ſubject of which is, *The formation of the Engliſh language on the foundation of the Anglo-Saxon*. Mr. Ellis, the editor of "Specimens of Early Engliſh Poets," has advanced a new opinion on this ſubject, which differs materially from that of moſt other writers, particularly Dr. Johnſon, (or whoever wrote the "Hiſtory of "the Engliſh Language" prefixed to his Dictionary,) and Mr. Tyrwhitt.

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The long train of poets who ſucceeded Chaucer imitated his example with a kind of filial veneration; and Spenſer himſelf, a poet of no vulgar caſt, was proud to draw large ſupplies, in a pedantic age, from what he conſidered as the pure "well of Engliſh "undefiled!" In ſhort, the moſt illuſtrious examples of learning, taſte, and genius, have at all times ſeen the neceſſity of underſtanding and venerating that parent language, which conſtitutes the predominant feature in the works of our early poets, and forms the genuine ground-work of our vernacular idiom. It is thus indeed, and thus only, that the veil muſt be removed, which conceals the moſt impreſſive and ſtriking characteriſtics of our native language in impenetrable obſcurity. Yet, as the cultivation of Anglo-Saxon literature forms no part of a regular education, but is left to the fortuitous partiality of a few individuals, it is not at all ſurprizing, however it may excite our regret, that ſome have no inclination, and others have no opportunity, to pay that attention to it, which its manifeſt importance appears to demand.

It is a fact not a little curious in the hiſtory of Anglo-Saxon literature, that the monks of Taviſtock-Abbey, many centuries ago, inſtituted in their monaſtery a regular ſchool for the better preſervation of that language, which they ſuppoſed to be in no ſmall danger of becoming totally unintelligible, in conſequence of the changes introduced by the Normans. This, I believe, is the earlieſt inſtance on record, after the conqueſt, of any profeſſed attention being paid to Anglo-Saxon literature, and to this attention may be aſcribed the preſervation of many Saxon manuſcripts [f].

[f] In the public library at Cambridge there is an Anglo-Saxon homily extant in manuſcript, which contains a memorandum to the following effect: "This ma-"nuſcript, with another of the ſame kind, was found by R. Farrar, a ſervant of "the Earl of Bedford, in the year 1566, in a houſe which was formerly a cell "be-

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After the Reformation, amidſt the general havoc, plunder, and demolition, which accompanied the diſſolution of monaſteries, it could not be expected, that the cauſe of antiquity and literature ſhould receive any ſignal or immediate advantage. Yet it appears, that after a very ſhort interval, when the ſtorm of innovation had ſubſided, and the human mind, releaſed from the dull monotony of monaſtic life, began to expatiate with freedom in the various walks of uſeful learning, men of the firſt eminence and reſpectability for their rank in ſociety, as well as for their attainments in literature, became the ardent patrons and admirers of the Anglo-Saxon language. Among the foremoſt ſtands the venerable Dr. Matthew Parker, THE SECOND PROTESTANT ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY. He was for ſome time Maſter of Bene't College in Cambridge; and to the public library of that Univerſity, as well as to the private library of his own College, he bequeathed ſome very valuable manuſcripts, particularly of the Saxon language, the greater part of which had been collected and reſcued from the ruins of the plundered monaſteries g. With this moſt reverend Primate of all England may be joined, as ſecond in rank, though conſiderably later in point of time, the learned Primate of Ireland, Archbiſhop Uſher, whoſe Annals of the Old and

"belonging to the monks of Taviſtock-Abbey." The MS. is thus characterized by Wheloc and Wanley: "Unus e codd. MSS. nomine Homiliarum 34 notus."

g A Catalogue of the Parkerian MSS. of C. C. C. C. firſt appeared in the Ecloga Jamefii, and was thence tranſcribed into the Catalogue of MSS. in England and Ireland; which being found imperfect and inaccurate, Dr. Stanley, who was Maſter of the College in the reign of William the Third, publiſhed another. This alſo being incomplete, Mr. Naſmith, one of the Fellows, publiſhed a more full and accurate Catalogue in 4to, Cant. 1777. Yet the following confeſſion in the Preface to this work is curious: "Ad Codices *Saxonicos* quod attinet, *linguæ* "*in qua exarantur prorſus ignarus*, Wanleium ubique ſecutus ſum!" Wanley's Catalogue is publiſhed at the end of Hickes's Theſaurus.

New

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New Teſtament, and whoſe hiſtorical reſearches into the antiquities of the Britiſh Churches, afford abundant proofs of his profound erudition.

In the courſe of the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth centuries flouriſhed many other learned and indefatigable ſcholars, who conſidered a knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon language as indiſpenſably neceſſary in the ſtudy of Engliſh antiquities. The firſt in order, if not the firſt in fame, is one to whom his countrymen will always feel themſelves highly indebted, for his ardent induſtry and laborious perſeverance in the execution of his office, as librarian and antiquary to King Henry the Eighth. Every one will here anticipate the name of *Leland*, the father of Engliſh antiquaries, and the great præcurſor of topographical writers. In the ſame track follows *Lambard*, whoſe learned publication of the *Archaionomia*, or collection of the ancient laws of England, firſt printed in the year 1568, will be found to be equally valuable to the lawyer, the antiquary, and the hiſtorian [h]. To theſe writers may be added the great antiquary and biographer Bale, the unfortunate and perſecuted Biſhop of Oſſory; together with Dr. Laurence Nowell, the learned Dean of Lichfield; Dr. Caius, or Kayes, the founder of the College which retains his name at Cambridge; and Foxe the Martyrologiſt [i].

[h] An improved edition of theſe ancient laws, with conſiderable additions, uſeful notes, and a learned preface by Biſhop Nicolſon, was afterwards publiſhed by Dr. Wilkins, Prebendary of Canterbury; folio, London, 1721. The edition by Wheloc was merely a republication of Lambard's in 1568.

[i] Saxon ſcholars are much indebted to this extraordinary man. Perhaps they will think his publication of the Saxon Goſpels, dedicated to Queen Elizabeth in the year 1571, more valuable than his famous Book of Martyrs. But it is not improbable, that Archbiſhop Parker ſuperintended this publication of the Saxon Goſpels. Vid. T. Mareſchalli Obſerv. in Evang. A. Saxon. See more on this ſubject in the Appendix, No. III.

In

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In the ſeventeenth century, among the cultivators and promoters of Anglo-Saxon literature, we find the diſtinguiſhed and illuſtrious names of Sir Edward Coke, Dr. Cowell, Dr. Brady the hiſtorian, Tate, Camden, Selden, Sir Robert Cotton, Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, Sir Symonds D'Ewes, Sir Roger Twyſden, Sir Henry and Sir John Spelman [k]; the latter of whom edited, among other things, the Anglo-Saxon verſion of the Pſalms, and of whom Wheloc gives an excellent character for accuracy of taſte, elegance of genius, and the moſt amiable ſweetneſs of manners [l].

In the ſame century alſo we find that Anglo-Saxon literature was cultivated by ſome of the moſt eminent ſcholars on the continent; among others, by John Gerard Voſſius, the learned Profeſſor of Chronology and Eloquence at Leyden, and of Hiſtory at Amſterdam; by John de Laet of Leyden, the intimate friend of Sir Henry Spelman; by Olaus Wormius, Profeſſor at Copenhagen, the great inveſtigator of Daniſh antiquities, who appears to have joined the ſtudy of the Saxon language with a profound knowledge of Runic and Scandinavian literature; and, laſtly, by Francis Junius [m], whoſe indefatigable labours in Anglo-Saxon and

[k] It would be eaſy to increaſe this nomenclature of Saxon ſcholars and their patrons; but my intention was to prove, by a ſelection of the moſt illuſtrious names, that the Saxon language has been ardently cultivated, not only by learned antiquaries and lawyers, but by men of the higheſt reſpectability, and of the moſt elegant taſte. We ſhall ſee alſo, hereafter, from the example of Mrs. Elizabeth Elſtob, (THE FIRST PRECEPTRESS TO HIS GRACE THE PRESENT CHANCELLOR OF OXFORD!) that an attention to the Saxon language and Engliſh antiquities may be blended with the higheſt order of *female* accompliſhments!—If health and leiſure permit, it is my intention to publiſh a kind of Biographia Anglo-Saxonica, or Select Lives of Anglo-Saxon Scholars.

[l] "Vir acerrimi judicii, comptiſſimi ingenii, probatiſſimæ morum ſuavitatis." Wheloc, Præf. ad Bedæ Hiſt. This great ſcholar died at Oxford in the year 1644. "Oxonii inter ſerenas Muſas animam efflavit." Id. ibid.

[m] His real name was François du John, or *du Jon*, transformed by the latinizing faſhion

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Mœſo-Gothic literature were continued with increaſing ardour to his NINETIETH year, and who bequeathed ſome of the valuable fruits of thoſe labours to this Univerſity.

But—to return to our own country—we muſt not forget, that the moſt illuſtrious and zealous promoter of Anglo-Saxon literature in the ſeventeenth century was the great Sir Henry Spelman above-mentioned; who, in addition to his own ardent cultivation of it, extended his bounty and munificence to thoſe who were willing to follow him in this track of ſtudy [n], having, almoſt at the age of EIGHTY YEARS, appropriated a part of his own annual income [o], as well as the Vicarage of Middleton in the dioceſe of Norwich, augmented by himſelf, to the purpoſe of providing an annual ſtipend, either for a Saxon Lecture to be read in

faſhion of the times into Franciſcus Junius! He was born at Heidelberg 1589—died 1678. His father was Profeſſor of Divinity at Leyden, and publiſhed, in conjunction with Tremellius, a Latin verſion of the Bible from the Hebrew. The principal works of the ſon, who was profoundly ſkilled in Northern literature, are the following:—Etymologicum Anglicanum, (publiſhed by Lye in folio, Oxon. 1743.)—Tatiani Harmonia Evangelica Francice.—Lexicon Saxonicum, Gothicum, Runicum, Iſlandicum, Francicum, &c.—(Vide Hickes's Theſaur.) His life has been written in Latin both by Grævius and Lye. That he was a man of elegant taſte, as well as deep erudition, appears from all his compoſitions, but particularly from his work on the Painting of the Ancients, which he publiſhed both in Latin and Engliſh, together with a Catalogue of Architects, Mechanics, Painters, Statuaries, Sculptors, and other artiſts, with an account of their works. He publiſhed the Gothic and Saxon Goſpels in conjunction with Dr. Marſhall; for which he collated *four* MSS. beſides the Cotton and Ruſhworth Gloſſes. (See the Appendix, No. III.)

[n] "*Coryphæus noſter*" is the expreſſion by which Wheloc characterizes him, and he every where teſtifies his gratitude and admiration, calling him "heros eximius, "nobilis, integerrimus, pius, inclytus; antiquiſſimæ, dum vixerat, literaturæ et "fidei." (Vid. Ded. et Præf. in Bedæ Edit. Latino-Saxonicam.)

[o] "De cenſu ſuo annuo—minerval annuum" is the expreſſion of Wheloc. (Vide Præf. ad Lectorem Hiſt. Eccleſ. Ven. Bed. Cant. 1644.)

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the University of Cambridge, or for the publication of ſome of the curious manuſcripts extant in that language [p]. To this department Abraham Wheloc, at that time Arabic Profeſſor, was appointed by the deſire of Sir Henry Spelman himſelf [q]; and though it does not appear that he delivered any public lectures in the University, yet he gave the world the firſt edition of Venerable Bede's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory with the Anglo-Saxon tranſlation of King Alfred, the firſt edition of the Saxon Chronicle, a new edition of Lambard's Archaionomia, with many other valuable ſpecimens of his Anglo-Saxon labours. On the death of Profeſſor Wheloc, the learned Mr. Somner of Canterbury was appointed to ſucceed him [r], being ſtrongly recommended by the Archbiſhop of Armagh [s] to the patronage of Roger Spelman, Eſq. the grand-

[p] Or perhaps for any other mode of promoting the ſtudy of *Engliſh antiquities*, according to the diſcretion of the Profeſſor. Vide Wheloc. Præf. in Bed. uti ſupra, & Somner. Dedicat. Diction. Sax. Lat. Angl. cum Præf.

[q] See the Appendix, No. II. The deſign of Sir Henry Spelman, which every Engliſhman muſt reſpect and admire, will be beſt explained in the words of Profeſſor Somner, (Dedication of his Saxon Dictionary, p. 1.) "Hinc autem experientia propria hoc tandem comperto, linguam ſcilicet SAXONICAM rei antiquæ "apud ANGLOS (quid ſi GERMANOS addiderim?) ſtudioſo adeo neceſſariam eſſe, "ut niſi admoto prius et adhibito ipſius lumine, ANTIQUITATES ANGLICÆ aut "omnino manerent incognitæ, aut (ut in multis GERMANIÆ partibus) plena ſal-"tem et perfecta carerent illuſtratione, magna admodum et ſingularis optimi viri "in hujuſmodi manuductionis et directionis lumine accendendo proponendoque "cura fuit ſtudiumque: ſerii et ſeduli, &c." (Vid. et Præf. ad Lectorem.)

[r] In imitation of his predeceſſor, and in conformity to the deſign of the great founder of the endowment, Mr. Somner dedicated his time to the private ſtudy of Saxon literature and Engliſh antiquities, inſtead of reading public lectures, and at length gave the world the fruits of his labours and reſearches; the moſt valuable ſpecimen of which is his Saxon Dictionary; which we ſhall have occaſion to mention hereafter. (See the next page.)

[s] James Uſher, D. D. who has been already mentioned, though rather out of the exact chronological order.—For a more circumſtantial account of this Anglo-Saxon

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ſon of Sir Henry, in whoſe preſentation the vicarage of Middleton then was.

It is well known, that the lamentable confuſion and unhappy diſturbances, which at that time prevailed in this country, diverted the minds of men from the purſuit of general literature to the confined channel of polemical divinity and politico-religious controverſy; nor could it well be expected, that, amidſt the paroxyſms of puritanical madneſs, a field apparently ſo uninviting as that of Anglo-Saxon literature ſhould open any proſpects to encourage the exertions of the learned. Yet a Saxon Grammar is ſaid to have been printed, even during the rage of the civil wars, at the Abbey-ſchool of Taviſtock before mentioned, the ancient repoſitory of the language; and ſoon afterwards appeared the Dictionary of the celebrated Mr. Somner [t], who may be ſaid to have revived the ſtudy of Anglo-Saxon literature by the publication of that moſt excellent work [u]. But above all Dr. Hickes,

Saxon Lecture or Profeſſorſhip in the Univerſity of Cambridge, and of the cauſes which led to its extinction, ſee the Appendix, No. II.

[t] Folio, Oxon. 1659. The work was ſent from Canterbury to be printed at Oxford. It was the firſt attempt of the kind, if we except an imperfect vocabulary by Dr. Nowel, and a ſmall collection of Saxon words, compiled and left unfiniſhed by Jocelin, Secretary to Archbiſhop Parker.

[u] Dr. Hickes expreſsly calls him the *father* of Saxon literature. "Literaturæ "Saxonicæ *pater*" is his high encomium, though perhaps the word *reſtitutor* would have been more appropriately juſt; ſince the great ſcholars, whom we have already mentioned as the præcurſors of Mr. Somner in the ſame path, abundantly prove the attention that was paid to Saxon literature long before his time. Yet his Dictionarium Saxonicum is in the higheſt degree learned, laborious, and uſeful; and it is to be regretted, that Lye and Manning did not follow him more cloſely; particularly in adding the Engliſh terms more frequently to the Saxon words. To explain Anglo-Saxon by Latin, and that too, *medii ævi*, is to explain *obſcurum per obſcurius!* This practice appears to be the principal cauſe of the neglect of Anglo-Saxon literature. The age is too indolent and luxurious to ſub-

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the great maſter of the Northern languages in general, and of the Anglo-Saxon in particular, accompliſhed the moſt arduous taſk in compiling and publiſhing, amidſt the hardſhips of deprivation and poverty, his learned "Theſaurus Linguarum veterum "Septentrionalium." The names of Wanley, Biſhop Gibſon, Dr. Mill, Sir Andrew Fountaine, Dr. Wilkins, Biſhop Nicolſon, Lye, Tyrwhitt, Warton, Tooke, and others, form a reſpectable and numerous liſt of ſcholars and antiquaries, by whoſe progreſſive labours and exertions the knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon language has been rendered of eaſy acceſs to all, and having continued to be cultivated to our own times, it has become an object of relative importance even in this age of faſtidious refinement [x].

II. Indeed, that the Anglo-Saxon language ſhould have been ſo carefully and diligently preſerved among us, and that the rude elements of which it is compoſed ſhould have ſome attractions for the learned in a later age of refinement, will not appear at all ſurprizing, when we conſider, in the next place, that the great maſs of the people of this country, notwithſtanding the predatory incurſions of the Danes, the ſucceſsful invaſion of the Normans, and the occaſional introduction of foreign families into the kingdom at different times, continue at this day to be of Saxon origin; whence it follows, as a natural conſequence, that the pre-

mit to the drudgery of learning every thing through the medium of a dead language. Beſides, who wants to know, for inſtance, that *utlagatus* is the Latin for an *outlaw*? Yet this is the word which Biſhop Gibſon conſtantly uſes.

[x] If the "Diverſions of Purley" had been written without any ſtudious intermixture of political ſentiments, which are totally unexpected in ſuch a work, it might have produced the deſirable effect of making us better acquainted and ſatisfied with our own language, and at the ſame time have extended the bounds of philological ſcience.

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ſent *language* of Engliſhmen is not that heterogeneous compound which ſome imagine[y], compiled from the jarring and corrupted elements of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, Spaniſh, and Italian, but completely Anglo-Saxon in its whole idiom and conſtruction.

It may be ſuppoſed, perhaps, that the Danes, by their repeated ravages for ſo many years, which terminated at length in a temporary or partial ſubjugation of the country, muſt have conſiderably altered the national language. To this it may be anſwered, that the very nature of the Daniſh incurſions and depredations prevented them from forming any numerous or permanent ſettlements among the inhabitants of this country; that the government continued in the Daniſh line of kings little more than twenty-five years; and that, even admitting that the language of theſe invaders was incorporated with that of the natives, it muſt be remembered, that it was only the addition of a kindred dialect, derived from the ſame Northern ſource, which from its mixture with the Saxon has very properly acquired the appellation of Dano-Saxon. This is the dialect which ſtill prevails in moſt of the Northern counties of England, where the Danes made the moſt laſting impreſſion. But, that the reception which both they and their language obtained in this country was of the moſt reluctant and unwelcome kind, is evident from the ſpirited reſolution formed by the nobles and principal men in the kingdom immediately on the death of Hardyknute, the laſt of their three kings: "That no Dane ſhould from that time be permitted to reign over "England;—that all Daniſh ſoldiers in any city, town, or caſtle, "ſhould be either killed, or baniſhed from the kingdom; and that

[y] "Tell me not" (ſays Liſle) "it is a *mingle-mangle*; for ſo are all: but the "puniſhment of confuſion we marke not ſo much in other tongues, *becauſe we* "*know not them and their borrowing ſo well as our owne.*" Pref. to Saxon Monuments, &c. Lond. 4to. 1638.

"who-

"whoever ſhould from that time dare to propoſe to the people a "Daniſh ſovereign, ſhould be deemed a traitor to the govern- "ment, and an enemy to his country[z]."

Since then this temporary or partial uſurpation of the *Danes* occaſioned ſo little alteration in the ancient language and inhabitants of our iſland, let us examine, how far the more exorbitant and oppreſſive ſway of the *Normans* tended to produce a more ſenſible impreſſion.

The peculiar circumſtances attending the uſurpation of William the Firſt undoubtedly afforded him an opportunity of completely eſtabliſhing the feudal ſyſtem in this country, with the utmoſt rigour and ſeverity which that degrading ſtate of vaſſalage was capable of admitting. In order to gratify and reward his followers and friends, he diſtributed amongſt them the lands, the lordſhips, the biſhoprics, the monaſteries, and the churches, of the vanquiſhed inhabitants, whom he diſpoſſeſſed by the right of conqueſt, that is, the will of the conqueror, of all their ancient domains, as well as of all civil offices and places of truſt; ſo that, for a century or two, a few Norman biſhops and barons, enjoying the excluſive favour of the reigning monarch, or ſometimes even teaching him to tremble on his throne, ruled the whole nation with a rod of iron, and preſided over the lives and liberties of

[z] So eager were the people of England to reſtore the Saxon line of kings, that they appointed Edward, afterwards called the Confeſſor, to ſucceed Hardacnute even before he was *buried!* "And ear than the he bebyrged wære, *eall folc ge-* "*ceas* Eadward to cynge on Lundene." (Chron. Saxon. ad ann. 1041.) The words in Italics, in conformity with many other paſſages, prove that the monarchy was *elective*, till the Norman uſurpers and their minions introduced the doctrine of hereditary and indefeaſible right ſupported *jure divino*. It required the genius of a Locke to bring us back to thoſe principles of common ſenſe, by which our Saxon anceſtors were directed amidſt the darkneſs and the deſpotiſm of the eleventh century!

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millions. Some are alſo of opinion [a], that an ineffectual attempt was made to eſtabliſh throughout the whole iſland that new-fangled language, which the Normans had acquired during their reſidence in that part of France to which they gave their name [b]. It is certain, indeed, that the greater part of the laws and public inſtruments of the kingdom, which were not written in Latin, were written in Norman French. But this was, perhaps, the natural effect of circumſtances, rather than the reſult of any political determination. For it is well known, that there were alſo ſome charters written in the *Saxon* language, from the reign of William the Firſt, even to that of Henry the Third [c]. We may likewiſe ſafely conclude, that the Saxon language, mixed indeed firſt with the Daniſh, and afterwards with the Norman French, ſtill continued to be almoſt univerſally ſpoken, if not written, by the vulgar, till at length our preſent language was formed by a gradual combination of the different dialects ſpoken by the Norman barons and the native peaſants of the country. In fact, the anceſtors of thoſe very Normans who ſettled in Neuſtria, like the Danes and Norwegians [d], who were continually iſſuing from the ſame Northern hive, ſpoke a language not very different from the old Saxon; but being afterwards blended with the language of the natives, which was a corrupt ſpecies of Latin, built on the foun-

[a] Hume, and others whoſe authority he follows. Hiſt. Eng. Vol. I. 8vo.

[b] *Neuſtria*, ſince called *Normandy* from them.

[c] There is one, frequently mentioned, of ſo late a date as 1258, 43 Hen. III. which has been printed by Lord Lyttelton and Dr. Henry in their hiſtories of this period, as well as by many other writers, and is really curious.

[d] *Norway* is an abbreviation of *North-way*, as the word *Norman* ſignifies a *Northern man*. The word *barbarian*, by which the Greeks and Romans ſtigmatized all thoſe who did not partake of their elegant luxuries and refinements, ſignifies nothing more than a ſon of the North, a North-born man, *bor-bairn!* Hence Boreas for the North wind.

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dation of the ancient Gaelic[e] or Celtic, it appeared quite in a new form when brought by the Normans into England. But the Norman, as well as the Daniſh families, were ſo few in compariſon with the ancient inhabitants of the country, and their domineering conduct was ſo little calculated to recommend their vocabulary, that a preponderating portion of the Anglo-Saxon dialect continued for ſeveral centuries to be incorporated into our written as well as oral language, till by a natural proceſs it began at length to predominate entirely over the other ingredients.

It is a juſt remark, that the mixture of two languages naturally and gradually forms a third, which is diſtinct from both. Thus our preſent language has been principally produced by an union of the Anglo-Saxon with the Norman French, but there are certainly ſome inſtances in which it materially differs from both. If however we examine the moſt ſimple ſpecimens of our written language, or that which is uſed in our colloquial intercourſe with each other on ordinary occaſions, we ſhall find the average of Saxon words to be not leſs than *eight* out of *ten*, or, on the moſt moderate computation, *fifteen* out of *twenty*[f]! Indeed, the learned

[e] I ſay Gaelic, becauſe I find Gaelic, Gaulic, Gauliſh, Gewalliſh, Walliſh, Walſh, Welſh, to be the regular gradation of oral and literal corruption. The Saxons, when they firſt came into England, called the Britons Weallas, or Welſh, and their brethren on the continent of Gaul, for the ſake of diſtinction, Gaul-Weallas, or Gal-Weallas; which was as much as to ſay, "The Welſhmen in "Gaul." If we were better acquainted with the early *migrations of mankind*, we ſhould find all nations and kindreds and tongues leſs ſeparate and diſtinct from each other, than they are commonly ſuppoſed to be. But, unfortunately, we are too much occupied in puzzling ourſelves about the *migrations of ſwallows!* Every department of natural hiſtory is intereſting; but ſtill let us remember,

"The proper ſtudy of MANKIND is MAN."

[f] That is *four fifths*, or at the leaſt *three fourths!* (See App. No. IV.)

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Dr. Hickes has already obſerved, that of fifty-eight words, of which the Lord's Prayer is compoſed, not more than *three* words only are of Gallo-Norman introduction; and thoſe too are corruptions from the Latin, which cannot be ſaid of the Saxon[g]. The remaining *fifty-five* are immediately and originally derivable from the Anglo-Saxon[h]!

But, not to inſiſt on ſuch favourable proofs as theſe, where the language of our forefathers has been conſecrated by religious uſe, and has thereby acquired a greater degree of ſtability, let us indiſcriminately take as an example any paſſage from any of our beſt writers either in verſe or proſe, and we ſhall find on experiment, that the proportion of Saxon words is in general not leſs than what I have ſpecified above; for inſtance, let us analyze the following exordium of Milton's Paradiſe Loſt;—an exordium, which has been always admired for its majeſtic ſimplicity and unaffected grandeur of diction;—

> Of man's firſt *diſobedience*, and the *fruit*
> Of that forbidden tree, whoſe *mortal*[i] taſte

[g] It is obvious, that in this computation the doxology is omitted; though it is remarkable, that if it be included, there will be found not more than *ſix* words out of *ſeventy-three* which are not radically Saxon!

[h] Some perſons may ſuſpect, that the Saxon prepoſition *on* is derived from the Latin *in*, *ſy* from *ſit*, *nama* from *nom*-en; though this will not be allowed by others; whereas all muſt agree, that *treſpaſs*, *temptation*, and *deliver*, are words imported from Italy *via* France. For the ſatisfaction of the curious, I have added the Lord's Prayer and the two Creeds, ſtill uſed in our Church, in the original Saxon. See the Appendix, No. IV.

[i] The etymology of the word *mortal* itſelf, notwithſtanding its claſſical appearance, cannot be eaſily found in the Greek or Latin language; for what have we gained by knowing that *mortalis* is derived from *mors*? and how is the inſertion of *t* in *mortis* to be accounted for? The Saxon word is *morth*; i. e. that *deſtructive* and unrelenting power which *marreth* (morreth, mor'th) all things under the ſun! So the old Greek word μορτος, explained by θνητος in Heſychius, is the paſſive par-

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Brought death into the world, and all our woe,
With loſs of Eden, till one greater man
Reſtore us, and *re*gain the bliſsful *ſeat*,
Sing, heavenly *Muſe*,—&c. &c. &c.

Here we ſhall find the proportion of Saxon words to be not leſs than four to one! It would be eaſy to multiply examples of this kind, particularly from our familiar converſation, to prove the intimate connection and the ſtrong features of reſemblance between our preſent language and that of our Saxon anceſtors: but as there can be no doubt of the fact in the minds of thoſe who have inveſtigated the ſubject, and as it would require a volume to analyze minutely the various ingredients, and trace diſtinctly the gradual[k] formation of the Engliſh *language*, let us proceed to conſi-

ticiple of the ſame verb, with the termination *os* added, as *mor'd*, *mort-os*. The word *regain* is of a hybrid ſpecies; for, though it comes immediately from the French *regagner*, yet *re* is a Latin prefix, and *g'agner* is the ſame with the Saxon *ge-agnian*, or *ge-abnian*, to gain, to poſſeſs, to make one's *own*; *ane*, Sax. The fact is, thoſe words which have made a tour from the North of Europe through Greece, Italy, or France, have returned to us ſo altered, that we ſcarcely know them again! (See the Appendix, No. IV.)

[k] I ſay *gradual*, becauſe I cannot agree with Mr. Ellis, (Specimens of Early Engliſh Poets, Vol. III. p. 424.) that "our vulgar Engliſh appears to have *very* "*ſuddenly* ſuperſeded the pure and legitimate Saxon, from which its elements "were principally derived, inſtead of becoming its ſucceſſor, as generally has "been ſuppoſed, by a *ſlow* and *imperceptible* proceſs."—The proceſs, indeed, however *ſlow*, has been by no means *imperceptible* to thoſe who have compared the language of the Saxon Chronicle, and other ancient ſpecimens, with that of Robert of Glouceſter, Chaucer, Spenſer, Milton, &c. and have thus traced the *gradual changes* which have taken place according to the natural courſe of events. It is remarkable, that Mr. Ellis himſelf, in a former part of his work, (Vol. I. p. 6.) has commended Dr. Johnſon for having ſo accurately deſcribed the *gradations* by which the Saxon was *inſenſibly* melted into the Engliſh language; and in other places he appears to think, as every perſon muſt on due reflection, that no material changes in language are, generally ſpeaking, *ſuddenly* eſtabliſhed.

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der at preſent, how far the ſtudy of Anglo-Saxon literature is connected with the original eſtabliſhment of our *laws*, our *liberty*, and our *religion*.

That no man can ſhine [l] at the bar, in the ſenate, or in the pulpit, without a knowledge of Anglo-Saxon literature, it would be ridiculous to aſſert. But that a ſtrong and ſteady light may be reflected from this quarter on many points of the municipal and common law, the theory of our political conſtitution, and the internal hiſtory of our religion, I truſt no Engliſhman of the preſent day will venture to deny. Where is the lawyer, who will not derive an acceſſion of ſolid information from a peruſal of the Anglo-Saxon laws, publiſhed by Lambard, Wheloc, and Wilkins? not to mention the various charters and legal inſtruments that are ſtill extant, together with the ancient records of our County-courts; on the foundation of which is erected the whole ſuperſtructure of our forenſic practice [m]. What patriot is there, whoſe heart does not burn within him, whilſt he is reading the language in which the immortal Alfred and other Saxon kings [n] compoſed

[l] If any department of literature may be neglected, becauſe men may *ſhine without it*, the argument may be extended to every branch of *profound* learning; for perhaps, in general, thoſe perſons *ſhine moſt* who poſſeſs the *leaſt*.

[m] Even Mr. Hume, with all his predilection in favour of France and the Norman Conqueror, readily admits, "that none of the feudal governments in Europe "had ſuch inſtitutions as the County-courts, which *the great authority of the Con-* "*queror ſtill retained from the Saxon cuſtoms!*" Whether we owe the preſervation of theſe courts to the *authority* or *indulgence* of the Conqueror, or to certain circumſtances of *policy* and *neceſſity*, may admit of a doubt. "Perhaps this inſtitu- "tion of County-courts in England" (continues Mr. Hume) "has had greater "effects on the government, than has yet been diſtinctly pointed out by hiſto- "rians, or traced by antiquaries." Hiſt. of England, Vol. II. p. 122. note *n*, 8vo. ed. 1786.

[n] I have taken the liberty of joining *other* Saxon monarchs with the incomparable Alfred; becauſe, much as I venerate the memory of that genuine hero of

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the elements of our envied code of laws, and portrayed the grand outlines of our free conſtitution? And when the Divine contemplates a work ſo extraordinary as the tranſlation of Venerable Bede's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, as well as the various other works of piety tranſlated by King Alfred into his native language, will he not be filled with additional admiration of that Providence, by which a wiſe and benevolent monarch was led, amidſt the horrors and difficulties of continual warfare, to inform the manners, regulate the conduct, and enlighten the minds, of his rude and illiterate ſubjects?—The whole fabric of our laws, indeed, eccleſiaſtical as well as civil[o], is built on a Saxon foundation. The criminal law of every country undergoes conſiderable and frequent changes in the progreſs of national refinement; but the ſtructure of the civil code and of municipal regulations, as well as

our country, I cannot find that we owe quite ſo much to him as ſome have ſuppoſed. In the fervency of our love, our admiration, and our gratitude, we have aſcribed to him an imaginary *doom-book*, or code of laws, of his own invention, which Sir William Blackſtone, miſled by former writers of great authority, ſuppoſes to be, unfortunately, LOST! I hope at ſome future time more fully to inveſtigate this curious ſubject, relating to the Anglo-Saxon laws. At preſent I muſt reſt ſatisfied with aſſuring thoſe, who reverence the name of Alfred as much as I do, THAT NO DOOM-BOOK, OR CODE OF LAWS, OF HIS PROMULGATION, AS FAR AS I CAN DISCOVER, IS LOST; but the only digeſt of laws which he appears to have compiled IS STILL IN EXISTENCE, and is no other than ſuch as many other Saxon monarchs compoſed for the better government of their ſubjects; a *doom-book* (Saxonice *dom-boc*) being nothing more nor leſs than a digeſt or collection of *dooms*, decrees, or written laws. King *Ethelbert's* doom-book is ſtill extant, and ſtands the firſt in the collection publiſhed by Dr. Wilkins.

[o] I do not here, or in any other part of this Eſſay, wiſh to be underſtood as uſing the word *civil* in the ſtrictly *legal* ſenſe; becauſe I am well aware, that what is properly called the *civil*, in contradiſtinction to the *common* law, is chiefly extracted from the Theodoſian code and the Pandects of Juſtinian.

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the general complexion of the common law, continues, like the forms of government, to be maintained and ſupported in the ſame ſtate for many ages. Accordingly we find, that, though many barbarous modes of puniſhment [p], adopted by our Saxon anceſtors, have been long ſince aboliſhed, yet the remains of their civil and municipal cuſtoms and regulations are ſtill viſible in our cities, towns, and villages. We have an obvious and ſtriking proof of this even in our modern names of offices, terms of police, and titles of honour; as there is at this moment ſcarcely a civil magiſtrate or a parochial officer, from the higheſt denomination to the loweſt, whoſe duty, rank, and qualifications are not emphatically comprized in a Saxon appellation [q].

Nor ought we to omit to mention, that to our Saxon anceſtors has been generally attributed that envied Palladium of Engliſh liberty, the trial by *Jury!* And, though the learned Dr. Hickes is of opinion, that this celebrated form of juridical deciſion was not introduced into our courts of juſtice till the reign of Henry the Second, being brought, as he thinks, immediately from Norman-

[p] Such as the ordeal, by fire and water, deprivation of the eyes, mutilation, pecuniary compenſations for the moſt atrocious crimes, faſting (that is, abſtaining from *animal* food) for a number of *years*, living on bread and water every day, *except Sundays*, &c, &c! The Normans appear to have been more fond of *hanging* their culprits, or of uſing ſtill more barbarous puniſhments. Alfred, indeed, ordered ſome *Daniſh pirates* to be hanged at Wincheſter in the year 897; but it does not appear to have been a common puniſhment for criminals of *our own country* till the coming of the Normans. (Vide Chron. Saxon.)

[q] Conyng or Cyning, the man of ſuperior *cunning*, capacity, and talent, is contracted into *King*; Conyng-ſtapel is become by corruption *Conſtable*, the *ſtaple* or ſupport of the King; Sheriff is the rapid pronunciation of Shire-reve, the *reef* of the ſhire, the protector and guardian of the county. Mayor, (i. e. May-er, the man of ſuperior power; not from *major*, Lat.) Alderman, (elder-man,) tything-man, &c, &c, are obvious. See more in Verſtegan's "Reſtitution of decayed Intelligence in Antiquities," &c.

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dy, and originally from Scandinavia; yet his elaborate examination of the ſubject ſeems only to prove, that the jurors or arbitrators were then firſt *limited* to the myſterious number TWELVE[r]! For, that this fundamental *principle* of juſtice regulated the public proceedings of our Saxon anceſtors, is evident even from thoſe very records and legal inſtruments that are quoted by Dr. Hickes[s], as well as from many others, in which *all* the freeholders and principal men of a county, forming, as it were, *a grand jury, not reſtricted in number*, are repreſented as meeting together, to hear and determine[t] all cauſes whatever, whether of a public or perſonal nature. The ſame pure principle of practical equity has from time immemorial pervaded not only our great courts of juſtice, but alſo the inferior courts of our manerial lords, where all local matters are, or ought to be, according to ancient cuſtom, regularly preſented and adjuſted by a jury of the principal landholders or copyholders, *not reſtricted to the number twelve*, forming what is called the *homage*[u].

[r] "Perinde ac in ipſo hoc *numero* ſecreta quædam eſſet *religio!*" ſays Sir Henry Spelman on the ſame ſubject. Dr. Hickes ſays expreſsly in a note, (p. 40. Diſſert. Epiſtol.) "Juratores vel jurata Domini regis *Aſſiſa* dicuntur, quod eorum "*numerus tunc primum aſſiſus*, i. e. *definitus* fuit." A different explanation is generally given of *aſſiſa* by moſt of our lawyers. From *aſſis*, the participle of the French verb *aſſeoir*, to ſit, is formed *aſſize*. (Vide Spelman's Gloſſary, in voc. *Aſſiſa*, et *Jurata*.)

[s] When I wrote this, I was not aware, that Biſhop Nicolſon had previouſly diſcuſſed this queſtion at large *againſt* Dr. Hickes. See his learned Preface to the Anglo-Saxon Laws edited by Dr. Wilkins, fol. Lond. 1721.

[t] The ſeſſions of *oyer & terminer* are merely different forms of the ſame proceedings, with a Norman appellation. I hope therefore to be forgiven for anticipating the phraſe.

[u] Though this word is of Norman introduction, the practice perhaps is not. *To do homage*, however, (*faire homage*) appears to be Norman both in expreſſion and practice; derived probably from the ſervile purpoſes for which homage-juries were

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It is remarkable, that when Earl Godwin and his ſon Harold were cited to appear before Edward the Confeſſor at London, they were allowed the privilege of being *attended* by *twelve* men; whilſt their cauſe was tried and determined by an aſſembly of ALL the nobles! What eſſential difference is there in the trial of a nobleman of the preſent day, who is allowed every privilege conſiſtent with the ſplendour of his rank, and is finally acquitted or condemned by a MAJORITY of the WHOLE HOUSE of which he is a member?—It appears then, that among our Saxon anceſtors the affairs of individuals, particularly thoſe of ſuperior rank and dignity, were examined with as much attention and ſolemnity as the affairs of the nation; and as the reigning monarch held his court at different places, or convened his elders and thanes for local as well as general purpoſes, the cauſe of an individual was often tried before the ſame *Aſſembly of the Wiſe*[x], which regulated the concerns of the ſtate. And ſo attentive were our Saxon kings to the liberties of the people, that they ſeem never to have tranſacted any buſineſs of importance, without having previouſly conſulted this *great Aſſembly of the Wiſe*, conſiſting of the elders and nobles who formed the grand council of the nation[y]. Who does

were ſometimes aſſembled by the Norman barons. (Vide Spelman's Gloſſary in voc. *Homagium*, &c.)

[x] *Witena-gemot*, Sax. from *witena*, the genitive caſe plural of the ſubſtantive *wita*, a wiſe man, a counſellor, a *cunning wight*, and *gemot*, a meeting, an aſſembly, a *moot*. *Qu.* Might not the legal phraſe, a *moot-point*, be derived from *gemot*, a *moot*, or meeting; i. e. a doubtful point, to be determined at a general meeting, a *witenagemot*?—*ge* in Saxon is merely a guttural prefix, and the ſame word is indifferently uſed with or without it.

[y] And therefore ſometimes called the *micel-gemot*, *mickle-meeting*, or great aſſembly. It was compoſed of the ealdormen, aldermen, or elders, men of age and experience; eorlas, or earls; and thegnas, theynes, or thanes. Theſe laſt were either king's thanes, or earl's thanes. (Vid. Spelm. Gloſſ.)

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not perceive here the germ of the Engliſh conſtitution, the ſpirit which guides the wiſeſt and the beſt of our kings, and the principle of our national pre-eminence? What are our preſent *Parliaments*, but the revival of the free and ſimple *witena-gemotes* of our Saxon anceſtors? It is remarkable indeed, that the eſtabliſhment of this bulwark of our conſtitution is coeval with the deſtruction of Norman tyranny, and the recovery of Saxon freedom; for, however hiſtorians may differ with reſpect to the preciſe æra of the firſt aſſembling of a *Parliament* [z], we may well reſt aſſured, that there is nothing French or Norman in it but the name [a].

That the pure and holy *religion* which we profeſs can derive any aſſiſtance from the cultivation of Anglo-Saxon literature, thoſe perhaps will be diſpoſed to deny, whoſe enthuſiaſtic imaginations have led them to believe, that no human ſtudy, no human learning, can promote the extenſion or invigoration of that divine principle, which muſt be caught by ſome immediate communication with the Deity. Yet the ſame perſons on this ground muſt allow, that the Anglo-Saxon language is of as much ſervice to the cauſe of religion as any *other;* and, conſidered with a view to that ſyſtem of religious diſcipline which was eſtabliſhed at the Reformation, as well as to the general hiſtory of the Chriſtian Church, its utility will be confeſſed by many to be unqueſtionably great.

[z] The only queſtion ſeems to be, "At what time were the repreſentatives of "counties, cities, and boroughs, admitted to form a conſtituent and diſtinct part "of the *King's* Parliament, under the denomination of the Houſe of Commons?" Vide Spelm. Gloſſ. in voc. *Parliamentum*, and the hiſtorical Treatiſe written by Dr. Brady on this ſubject; London, fol. 1690, 1711, &c.

[a] Some etymologiſts and lawyers derive the word *parliament* from *parláre la ménte*, Ital. becauſe a member of Parliament ought "to ſpeak his mind judi-"ciouſly," ſays Sir E. Coke. But *parlement*, Fr. from *parler*, is more obvious and probable. *Colloquium* is the word uſed in the old writs to the Sheriffs.

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The Romaniſts, however, will tell us, that we owe no part of our eccleſiaſtical ſyſtem to our Saxon anceſtors, becauſe *they* received it from the Church of *Rome*. It is well known, indeed, that there is no religious eſtabliſhment in Europe, which has not derived ſome inherent ſtains from this polluted ſource. But as the Church of Rome was leſs corrupt at that early period, when the Goſpel was introduced amongſt our Saxon anceſtors, ſo the ſyſtem of religious diſcipline eſtabliſhed in this iſland at that time was by no means ſo degrading as it afterwards became, when the encroachments of that oppreſſive hierarchy began to threaten the total ſubjugation of Europe.

It is pleaſing to obſerve the ſtriking contraſt which is exhibited between this domineering ſpirit of the Romiſh prieſthood, and the affectionate concern of King Alfred for the religious welfare of his ſubjects. We behold this excellent monarch leaving the cares of empire and the tumults of war, to tranſlate from Latin into Saxon [b], for the benefit of his rude and illiterate people, Gregory's Paſtoral, or ſome other work of moral or religious inſtruction, at a time when many of his biſhops, as he himſelf informs us, were totally ignorant of the Latin language. In ſhort, the various works of piety and devotion, which are ſtill extant in the Saxon language, not to mention the curious tranſlations of the moſt material parts of the Old and New Teſtament, may be conſulted with advantage by the theological ſtudent of the preſent day, as they ſatisfactorily prove the purity of our primitive Church, and its agreement with the eſtabliſhed form of religious doctrine and eccleſiaſtical diſcipline, as it was ſettled at the Reformation [c]. I cannot therefore better conclude this part of the

[b] *Not from Saxon into Latin*, which is the modern practice!

[c] The very feſtivals and ceremonies which were then retained were nearly the ſame that were obſerved by our Saxon anceſtors. See the *Menologium Poeticum*,

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ſubject, than in the words of a FEMALE writer [d], of very learned and various accompliſhments, who, to the honour both of herſelf and of her ſex, at the deſire and recommendation of Dr. Hickes, tranſlated into Engliſh, with copious notes, an Anglo-Saxon Homily on the birthday of St. Gregory, the Roman Pontiff, who firſt cauſed the Goſpel to be preached amongſt our Pagan anceſtors of the *ſixth century!* "This is ſome, no ſmall ſatisfaction that we "reap from Saxon learning; that we ſee the agreement of the "*reformed* and the ancient *Saxon* Church; that it is no *new* "Church, but the ſame it was before the Roman Church was "corrupted; before the Roman Church, as now corrupted, not-"withſtanding her boaſts of infallibility, of antiquity, and univer-"ſality, was known, or had a being in the world [e]!"

III. I might here extend the ſubject of this Lecture to a conſiderable length, by enumerating a variety of collateral advantages, which not only Engliſhmen, but many other nations alſo in common with ourſelves, may derive from the cultivation of the

or Dano-Saxon Calendar, with the notes of Dr. Hickes in his Theſaurus, p. 203. Vol. I. fol. Oxon. 1705.

[d] ELIZABETH ELSTOB, ſiſter to Mr. William Elſtob, Fellow of Univerſity College, Oxford, who alſo cultivated Anglo-Saxon literature. This ingenious lady was patronized by Queen Caroline; ſhe was well known to all the literary characters of her time, and was the firſt perſon, if I miſtake not, appointed to ſuperintend the education of the preſent Duke of Portland. Her letters are in the Bodleian Library.

[e] Preface to her "Engliſh-Saxon Homily, &c." p. xiv. To this work, which was printed at London, 1709, and is a good ſpecimen of the elegant typography of Mr. Bowyer, adorned with beautiful engravings by Gribelin, we may apply the conciſe but well-turned compliment which Quintilian has paid to the oration compoſed by the daughter of Hortenſius: "legitur non tantum in ſexus hono-"rem."

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Saxon language. I might remark, not only its intimate connection with nearly all the preſent languages of Europe;—of England, Scotland [f], and Ireland,—of Lapland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and Holland,—of France, Spain, Italy, Germany, and Switzerland,—but alſo its high claim to antiquity from its near reſemblance in many inſtances to the earlieſt ſymbols of organic ſounds, whether in Hebrew, Arabic, Chaldee, Perſian, Celtic, Gaelic, or *Cimmerian* [g]! But as the philoſophy of language is a ſcience yet in its infancy, and it may be long before we can expect that great *deſideratum* in literature to be produced, a *ſynoptical view of univerſal Grammar* [h], at preſent it will be more pru-

[f] The language ſpoken in the Low-lands, eſpecially the Eaſt coaſt, of that country, is allowed by Mr. Hume to be *purely Saxon*; but on this fact he builds another not quite ſo correct, that King Ida, and his grandſon Ethelfrid, penetrated into this part of Scotland, and joined it to the vaſt kingdom of Northumberland; and he concludes, that the whole diſtrict was therefore peopled in a great meaſure from Germany! It is ſurprizing, that Mr. Hume ſhould have overlooked a more probable ſolution of this fact; the flight of Edgar Atheling, and the eſtabliſhment of a great number of Saxon families in Scotland after the conqueſt!

[g] I call the *Welſh* language by this name; for the *Cymru*, *Cimmerii*, *Cimbrii*, *Cimbri*, *Cambri*, (or Cambrians,) are allowed by moſt antiquaries to be the ſame with the *Cimmerians* of *Homer*. The Welſh and the Saxon are not ſo widely aſunder as may be imagined.

[h] The ſcience of GRAMMAR has been much debaſed by the ignorance of ſome, and the negligence of others, who

"Quæ pueri didicere, ſenes perdenda fatentur;"

but let us remember the fine encomium which Quintilian has left us of this noble ſcience when properly cultivated: "Neceſſaria pueris, jucunda ſenibus, dulcis ſe-"cretorum comes, et quæ vel ſola omni ſtudiorum genere plus habet operis quam "oſtentationis. Ne quis igitur tanquam parva faſtidiat GRAMMATICES elementa: "non quia magnæ ſit operæ, conſonantes a vocalibus diſcernere, ipſaſque eas in "ſemivocalium numerum mutarumque partiri; ſed quia *interiora velut ſacri hujus* "*adeuntibus apparebit multa rerum ſubtilitas, quæ non modo acuere ingenia puerilia,*

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dent to confine our attention to a few leading points of leſs difficulty and inferior importance.

No perſon can doubt of the indiſpenſable utility of Saxon literature in elucidating the topography and antiquities of our own iſland, in explaining our proper names and the origin of families, in illuſtrating our provincial dialects and local cuſtoms; all which are the memorials of the ancient manners and character of our anceſtors, and without a knowledge of which every Engliſhman muſt be imperfectly acquainted with the hiſtory of his own country.

It would be an invidious and an endleſs taſk to comment on the many imperfections, omiſſions, and errors, which are conſtantly to be obſerved in all thoſe grammars, gloſſaries, lexicons, and dictionaries, that have been compiled by learned men, who, unfortunately, were not furniſhed with an adequate knowledge of the radical languages of ancient Europe, with reſpect to which, indeed, the more poliſhed languages of Greece and Rome, with all their varieties of inflexions and terminations, are comparatively MODERN[i]. Dr. Hickes has already remarked the numerous deficiencies and miſtakes, to which ſome of the moſt learned writers before his time were unavoidably ſubject, in conſequence of the imperfect ſtate of Saxon literature in this country; which aroſe from the ſcarcity of printed books, and the difficulty of conſulting manuſcripts[k]. Dr. Hickes himſelf is not always an infallible

"*ſed exercere altiſſimam quoque eruditionem ac ſcientiam poſſit!*" Quint. de Inſt. Orat. I. 4, 5, 6.

[i] See a *hint* of this kind in the ſecond volume of *Επτα συνεσεντα*.

[k] This cannot now be urged in excuſe for Mr. Hume, who in *one* page of his Hiſtory has been guilty of *three* egregious miſrepreſentations of a paſſage in Bede, which a reference to King Alfred's Saxon tranſlation would have corrected. See the account of St. Auguſtine's miſſion to England, where Pope Gregory anſwers ſome

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guide; but he was the first of Septentrional scholars, who, by the publication of a laborious THESAURUS, paved the way for a more accurate and copious knowledge of all the Northern languages, which, since the destruction of the Roman empire, have been incorporated, more or less, into all the languages of modern Europe, and have even penetrated into Asia, WHENCE PERHAPS THEY ORIGINALLY SPRUNG!

Some acquaintance therefore with these languages is absolutely necessary to those European scholars, who are desirous of acquiring *a scientific synopsis of universal Grammar*, as well as an accurate perception of their own vernacular idiom [l].

And that the Anglo-Saxon language has a peculiar share of importance and interest; that it is capable of elucidating the principles of grammatical science, and of leading us to a philosophical theory of language, has been sufficiently shewn by the ingenious author of the "Diversions of Purley [m]." Indeed, an exclusive

some curious questions of the Missionary, and compare it with the original passages in the 27th chapter, B. I. of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, to which Mr. Hume refers.

[l] It has been said, that language is the mere vehicle of ideas—but how could we communicate the ideas to each other *without* the vehicle? And perhaps it may be said, that the more languages we learn, the more *vehicles* we possess, the more comprehensive and philosophical will be our stock of ideas, and the more intimately shall we become acquainted with the manners, the sentiments, and the characters, of all the nations of the earth! The Emperor Charles V. said finely, "Autant de langues qu'on sçait, autant de fois on est homme!" A sentiment truly royal, and practically recommended by the example of the great Mithridates of Pontus, who spoke the languages of *two and twenty* nations, or, as some say, *five and twenty*, who were subject to his dominion. Vide Valer. Max. et Aul. Gell.

[m] Since this was written, the second volume of this extraordinary work has been published, which is equally acute with the former, and equally unpalatable from the introduction of political matter.

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attention to the more learned and refined languages has too frequently beguiled men of the greateſt talents and erudition into very erroneous concluſions on philological ſubjects [n].

If we conſult merely our own pleaſure in reading, perhaps there cannot be a doubt, that every perſon of a claſſical taſte, and elegant turn of mind, will be diſpoſed to dedicate the greateſt portion of his time to the immortal volumes of ancient Greece and Rome, and to the works of the beſt hiſtorians, ſtateſmen, poets, and philoſophers, of modern Europe. But, if we would acquire an enlarged and comprehenſive view of the hiſtory of MAN; if we would trace his progreſs from ignorance to knowledge, from rudeneſs to refinement; if we would obſerve, how his complicated improvements in ſpeech have maintained an uniform correſpondence with the gradual expanſion of his mind; if we would remark, how regularly his diſtinctive variety of words has increaſed in the ſame proportion as he has enlarged the circle of his ideas; if from the inveſtigation of theſe circumſtances we would endeavour to add to the public ſtock of information on a very abſtruſe but highly intereſting ſubject; we muſt examine the written ſymbols of organic ſounds adopted in the moſt remote ages and nations, and in the moſt rude as well as in the moſt refined periods of ſociety; we muſt ſtudy, if I may uſe the expreſſion, the *comparative anatomy* of human language; we muſt

[n] To this cauſe muſt be attributed the reveries of Plato, Varro, and Cicero, with reſpect to the etymology of the Greek and Latin languages; the miſtakes even of the GREAT FOUNDERS OF THE HEMSTERHUSIAN SCHOOL of Greek and Latin literature; and the more pardonable and innocent errors of Mr. Harris, the philoſopher of Saliſbury, who appears to have truſted too implicitly to the guidance of his GRECIAN HERMES! With regard to the ancients, the following are the words of L. C. Valcknaer: "Veritatis eſt exploratiſſimæ, veteres tam "Græcos quam Latinos, in linguæ vernaculæ natura et indole cœcutiviſſe UNI-"VERSOS!" Obſervationes ad Origines Græcas, p. 2.

diſſect,

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diſſect, we muſt analyze, we muſt diſunite, and compare; we muſt deſcend from the gratifying ſpectacle of ſymmetry and proportion, to the moſt minute combination of two or more component parts; we muſt not only trace the operations of the human mind in the ſublime flights of poetry, the copious ſtreams of eloquence, and the abſtruſe paths of abſtract ſcience and philoſophy; we muſt alſo conſider man in the infancy of ſociety, and in the infancy of life[o]; we muſt diveſt him of his *eight*[p] parts of ſpeech, and hear him deliver his thoughts with little more aſſiſtance than that of a *noun* and a *verb* only[q]; we muſt tear from him, however reluctantly, that gaudy plumage, thoſe borrowed wings, (ἵππα πτερόεντα,) compoſed of ſoft and beautiful feathers *hermetically* ad-

[o] The language of moſt nations in an early period of ſociety or civilization reſembles the language of children; but varies according to the character and ſituation of the people; rough among warlike tribes, and ſoft among thoſe of a more voluptuous turn, as among the natives of a warm and luxurious climate. The iſlanders of the Pacific Ocean, in the unaffected enunciation of infantile imbecillity, metamorphoſed the rugged names of Captain *Cooke* and Doctor *Sparman* into *Tootie* and *Pamanee*.

[p] Modern Grammarians have almoſt uniformly agreed in dividing human ſpeech into *eight* parts; Ariſtotle indeed has comprehended the conſtituent parts of it under the ſame *octonary* diviſion; (Poet. c. 34. ed. Tyrwhitt.) but his analyſis is far more rational and ſatisfactory; though it has been miſunderſtood and neglected. He philoſophically examines the complicated ſtructure of *all language*, (λέξεως ἁπάσης,) and traces the formation of *all diction*, (metrical or proſaic,) from a ſimple *element* or letter (στοιχεῖον) to a complete *ſentence*, or a finiſhed compoſition, (λογος.)

[q] Leſt the doctrine of reſolving all language, *etymologically*, into *nouns* and *verbs* ſhould be conſidered as *new* and *heretical*, I beg leave to tranſcribe the following words of J. D. à Lennep: "Quæ, præter VERBA et NOMINA, numerantur *partes* "*orationis*, ea vel ad *verba*, vel ad *nomina*, proprie referenda ſunt; niſi ſint quæ-"dam INTERJECTIONES." Prolegom. ad Etymol. Ling. Græc. Traj. ad Rhen. 1790. Lennep began his etymological work in the year 1762! (V. Ariſtot. et Hor.)

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juſted, by which he has been enabled to ſoar with triumphant glory to the higheſt regions of human fancy! We muſt behold him a poor defenceleſs creature, ſurrounded with wants which he ſtruggles to expreſs, and agitated by ſenſations which he labours to communicate! We ſhall then ſee, how various cauſes of a local, temporary, and arbitrary nature, have influenced his ideas, and the language in which he has embodied them. In this point of view, therefore, the language of our Saxon anceſtors, of which ſome ſpecimens remain of conſiderable antiquity, will appear highly intereſting and important to the philoſophical enquirer; and perhaps it would be difficult to find any work of any age or nation, which is calculated to throw greater light on the theory of language in general, than the Saxon Chronicle, which is the moſt valuable original compoſition extant in that language. This ancient and curious document, having been compiled at different intervals of time, according to the regular ſucceſſion of events, may be conſidered, independently of its merits as a faithful regiſter of hiſtorical facts, as a kind of chronological memorial of the progreſs of our national language; comprehending no leſs than *three* diſtinct and important æras, in the courſe of about ſix hundred years, which may be denominated *Anglo*-Saxon, *Dano*-Saxon, (or Anglo-Daniſh,) and *Norman*-Saxon, (or Anglo-Norman[r].) But as my limits will not allow me to enter fully at preſent into the inveſtigation of this curious ſubject, and as there are many others connected with it which ſeem to require a ſepa-

[r] Theſe are the three grand *dialects* of the Saxon TUNG, which are as different and diſtinct as the Doric, the Ionic, and the Attic dialects of the Greek language. Theſe points I intend more fully to inveſtigate in an Eſſay which I am preparing on the gradual formation of the Engliſh language, and the hiſtory of its progreſs through all its important changes.

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rate diſcuſſion, I beg leave to defer the further conſideration of theſe objects of enquiry to ſome future opportunity [s].

[s] Theſe objects of enquiry it was my intention to have purſued with unceaſing perſeverance, in ſuch a manner as to arrange them for a regular ſeries of Lectures; but the multiplicity of my avocations and engagements, and that variety of circumſtances and events, which happens to every man more or leſs in his progreſs through life, have occaſionally ſo diverted my attention from antiquarian reſearch, that I have been often obliged to tread the ſame ground over again, without making any ſatisfactory progreſs. I have found it neceſſary alſo, to cultivate an acquaintance with other Northern languages in addition to the Saxon; and when it is conſidered, that Profeſſor Wheloc at Cambridge conſumed a conſiderable part of ſeven years, as he himſelf aſſures us, in acquiring a competent knowledge of the Saxon only, no apology, I truſt, will be expected on my part for an unwillingneſs to preſent any crude or ſuperficial productions before the Univerſity or the public. In addition, however, to many grammatical and philological enquiries, I am now preparing a few eſſays on the following ſubjects:

I. On the Saxon Chronicle; with ſpecimens of an Engliſh tranſlation of that original document.

II. On the gradual formation of the Engliſh language upon the foundation of the Anglo-Saxon.

III. On Saxon Poetry; comprehending the Dano-Saxon and Norman-Saxon.

IV. On the laws, government, religion, manners, &c. of the Saxons.

V. On what is called Saxon architecture, &c. &c.

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APPENDIX I.

Page 1.

AS the printed copies of Dr. Rawlinſon's Will and Endowment (London, 1755.) are now become very ſcarce, it is hoped that the following extracts may be found uſeful, as authentic documents, to thoſe who ſhall be at any time concerned in the inſtitution, and not unacceptable to others.

Dr. Richard Rawlinſon, or, as he ſtyles himſelf in various places, "the "worſhipful Richard Rawlinſon, of London-houſe in the pariſh of St. "Botolph, Alderſgate, London, Doctor of Laws of the Univerſity of Ox- "ford, and Fellow of the Royal Society [a]," did, by his Endowment, dated Auguſt 11, 1750, and confirmed by his laſt Will and Teſtament, dated

[a] He was alſo a member of the Society of Antiquaries, who at that time held their meetings at the Mitre Tavern in Fleet-Street; to whom in his Will he bequeaths all his dyes and matrices of Engliſh ſeals and for medals, all his copper-plates, whether etched or engraved, of ſeals, charters, and other curioſities, together with a freehold and copyhold eſtate at Fulham, "upon condition that they do not upon any terms, or by any ſtratagem, arts, "means, or contrivance howſoever, increaſe or add to their preſent number of one hundred "and fifty members," &c! The Society, not willing to be thus reſtricted by an individual, forfeited their claim to theſe bequeſts by adding to their number, and in the ſecond and third Codicils annexed to his Will he revoked and made void all his former legacies made, deviſed, or given to the Society, in and by his ſaid Will and in the firſt Codicil annexed thereto, tranſferring the greater part to the Univerſity of Oxford; and the eſtates at Fulham "to the "Principal and Fellows of *Hertford College*, and to their ſucceſſors for ever, in order to aug- "ment and increaſe the ſalary of the Principal thereof for the time being."

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June 2, 1752, give and bequeath unto the Chancellor, Maſters, and Scholars of the Univerſity of Oxford, and their ſucceſſors for ever, certain annual or fee-farm rents, reſerved, iſſuing, or payable out of or for certain lands, tenements, and hereditaments in Lancaſhire, (mentioned and deſcribed in the Endowment,) "to the end, intent, and purpoſe, by and out of "the ſaid annual or fee-farm rents, to found, conſtitute, and eſtabliſh, and "from time to time to ſupport, uphold, and maintain, *one Anglo-Saxon Lec-* "*ture or Profeſſorſhip* in the ſaid Univerſity, to have continuance for ever, "and to be ruled, governed, directed, and regulated by and under ſuch rules, "orders, and conſtitutions as the ſaid Richard Rawlinſon ſhall at any time "hereafter in writing direct, limit, and appoint; and, for want of ſuch di- "rections, limitations, and appointment, to be ruled, governed, directed, "and regulated by and under ſuch rules, ſtatutes, orders, and conſtitutions, "as the ſaid Chancellor, Maſters, and Scholars of the ſaid Univerſity and "their ſucceſſors ſhall from time to time by any public act or otherwiſe "in their diſcretion direct, limit, and appoint."

The firſt Truſtees appointed by Dr. Rawlinſon in his laſt Will and Teſtament, dated June 2, 1752, excluſive of thoſe to whom the grant of the rents in Lancaſhire was confirmed, were the following: "The Vice-Chan- "cellor and two Proctors of the Univerſity of Oxford for the time being, "together with the Preſident for the time being of St. John's College in "the ſame Univerſity; Thomas Bowdler, of Aſhley in the county of "Wilts, Eſquire; Mr. Robert Gordoun of Theobald, otherwiſe Tibald's- "court, in Theobald, or Tibald's-row, near Red-Lyon Square, Holborn; "and Mr. John Pierce of Took's-court in the pariſh of St. Andrew, Hol- "born, London, Gentlemen;"—to whom afterwards in his firſt Codicil, dated June 17, 1752, he ſuperadded—"the Regius Profeſſors for the time "being of Divinity, Law, Phyſic, and of the Hebrew and Greek languages. "And my will is," (he continues,) "that when any two of the Truſtees "ſhall die, the remaining ſurvivers, together with the Vice-Chancellor, "Preſident, (of St. John's,) and Proctors, ſhall within three calendar "months chooſe two other perſons to ſupply the vacancy: in which elec- "tions, if the numbers be equal, the Vice-Chancellor ſhall have the caſting "vote."

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Extract from the ſame Codicil.—" I do appoint the Convocation of the " Univerſity of Oxford, if they kindly accept of my ſettlement made in " Auguſt one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty, to be the electors of the " Profeſſor therein named. Which place I direct to become vacant every " TEN [b] years; *and that the ſeveral Colleges of the ſame Univerſity do enjoy* " *it one after another upon every vacancy*; and that my own College of St. " John Baptiſt, where I had the happineſs to be educated, *ſhall have the* " *firſt and every fifth turn.* And I do further direct, that ſuch Profeſſor " or Lecturer, ſo from time to time to be elected, *ſhall continue a bachelor* " *and ſingle man, ſo long as he ſhall hold the ſaid Profeſſorſhip, and enjoy the* " *profits of the ſaid endowments.* And I do require, that the perſons ſo " elected *be regular not created graduates,* and ſuch as have performed the " uſual exerciſes for their degree, and paid the fees, but without impeach- " ment to our honoured Chancellor's common letters."

Extract from the ſecond Codicil, dated July 25, 1754.—" I do declare, " and it is my true intent and meaning, *that no native of Scotland or of* " *Ireland, or of any of the plantations abroad, or any of their or either of* " *their ſons, or any preſent or future member of the Royal or Antiquary So-* " *cieties,* ſhall have, take, receive, or enjoy any profit, benefit, or advantage " from, by, or out of any part of my eſtate, real or perſonal, which I have " heretofore given, deviſed, or bequeathed for the foundation of any Lec- " ture, or to any charitable or public uſe, or *be capable of being elected into* " *any Profeſſorſhip of my foundation.*"

Extract from the fourth Codicil, dated February 14, 1755.—" Whereas " by my Will [c] I have limited the time for the enjoyment of the Lecturer's " place under my ſettlement (now in the hands of Dr. Derham, Preſident " of St. John's,) to the term of *ten* years; I do hereby reduce the ſame to " *five* years, and that St. John's College ſhall have every fifth turn. And " I do direct, that before every election ſo much of my Will and Codicils " as relate to the qualifications for the office of Lecturer, [and alſo for the " office of Keeper of the Muſeum at Oxford,] be firſt publicly read."

[b] Afterwards in the *fourth* Codicil limited to *five* years.

[c] See the firſt Codicil, dated June 17, A. D. 1752.

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That it was the intention of Dr. Rawlinſon to make known the nature of his endowment, and to give it every kind of publicity, appears not only from the above extract, but from the following direction in his Will: "I "do require, that a copy of this my Will, and of every future Codicil or "Codicils, be given by my Executors to Mr. James Fletcher the younger "of Oxford, bookſeller, to whom I do hereby give leave and power to "print and publiſh the ſame at his expence and for his own benefit, in or- "der to perpetuate the ſame, and be a check upon all concerned, as well as "to be a direction to them."

With reſpect to the reſtrictive clauſes in this Endowment, however much to be regretted, we muſt recollect, that they aroſe from a certain train of political and religious ſentiments, which at the time were by no means peculiar to Dr. Rawlinſon.

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APPENDIX II.

Pages 1 *and* 10.

BISHOP Gibſon, in his Life of Sir Henry Spelman [a], and Dr. White Kennet, Biſhop of Peterborough, in his Life of Mr. Somner [b], have both endeavoured to account for the loſs which the Univerſity of Cambridge and the public have ſuſtained by the failure of Sir Henry Spelman's endowment of a Saxon Profeſſorſhip. But there is ſome difference in their ſtatements of the cauſes which led to its extinction. Biſhop Gibſon, without referring to any authority, tells us in few words, "that Sir Henry and his "eldeſt ſon (Sir John Spelman) both dying in the compaſs of two years, "and the civil wars breaking forth, and their eſtate being alſo ſequeſtered, "the family became uncapable of accompliſhing the deſign." This account, though partly true, appears incorrect in ſome degree; for Mr. Somner, who publiſhed his Saxon Dictionary in the year 1659, *only one year before the reſtoration of King Charles the Second*, in the Dedication of that work to Roger Spelman, Eſq. the *grandſon of Sir Henry*, expreſsly mentions his having ſucceeded to the *annual ſtipend*, which Profeſſor Wheloc *enjoyed till his death*; and, that he had no doubt he ſhould continue to receive it without interruption, is evident from the gratitude which he expreſſes to his benefactor: "tanquam meo non in præſens ſolum, ſed et "*perpetuo* ſtudiorum meorum Patrono et Mæcenati." The circumſtances which led to the ſeparation of the Vicarage of Middleton from the annual

[a] Prefixed to his edition of his Engliſh Works, firſt publiſhed in the year 1695, and, more correctly, fol. Lond. 1723, the year of his tranſlation from Lincoln to London.

[b] Prefixed to Somner's "Treatiſe of the Roman Ports, &c. publiſhed by James Brome, "M. A. &c. Oxford, printed at the Theater, 1693."

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ſtipend are ſomewhat remarkable. Mr. Spelman, on the death of Profeſſor Wheloc, had ſelected the Rev. Samuel Foſter as a proper perſon to ſucceed him; but Archbiſhop Uſher in the mean time recommended Mr. Somner, for his knowledge of the Saxon language, and his laudable undertaking, in which he had then advanced a conſiderable way, the compilation of a Saxon Dictionary. To the credit and ſatisfaction of all parties concerned, the difficulty was thus removed; Mr. Foſter accepted the living, but relinquiſhed the Profeſſorſhip; and Mr. Somner was conſequently appointed, though perſonally unknown both to Mr. Spelman and to Mr. Foſter. It is probable, that this unfortunate ſeparation of the eccleſiaſtical preferment from the ſtipend of the Profeſſor, however amicably or honourably adjuſted at the time, was the true cauſe of the decay of this endowment at Cambridge; and the account of Biſhop Kennet [c], which certainly reſts on better authority than that of Biſhop Gibſon, confirms the ſuppoſition. I have been thus particular in examining a point, of no very general intereſt perhaps, but connected intimately with the hiſtory of Anglo-Saxon literature, becauſe I find an erroneous ſtatement of the caſe in the life of Sir Henry Spelman in the Biographia Britannica, which differs entirely from the account given in the ſame work in the life of Mr. Somner. The following inſtances of inaccuracy may ſerve to ſhew how far the contents of that article are to be relied on. The word *heros* (which is frequently applied by Wheloc, in the Preface to his edition of Bede, to the *hero* of Saxon literature, Sir Henry Spelman) being miſtaken for *hæres*, the writer has aſſerted, that Wheloc was *recommended* [d] to Sir Henry Spelman by his ſon and *heir*, Sir John Spelman [e]!—Again, Wheloc having told us, in the ſame

[c] Life of Mr. Somner, page 72. Oxford, 1693.

[d] In fact, he was recommended to the Univerſity at a meeting in Sydney College by *Archbiſhop Uſher*, as a proper perſon to accept the endowment: "ſub auſpiciis Reverendiſſimi Ar-"machani, &c." Vide Dedic. ſive Præf. ad Academ. Cantabrig. p. 2.

[e] The words of Wheloc are: "Acceſſit poſtea et hoc; ut *heros* me huic muneri præſenti "non illiberali quidem commendaverit," &c. And in another place: "Senex prope octoge-"narius—minerval annuum—in literas haſce, ſive publice legendo, ſive Codices MSS. in lu-"cem edendo, (et libros Saxonicos publici juris faciendo, *Præf. p.* 2.) promovendas deſig-"navit."

Preface,

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Preface, that Sir Henry Spelman often employed him to read Saxon Manuſcripts, &c. to him in the public Library at Cambridge [f], and, in the Dedication, that Archbiſhop Uſher *propoſed* to him, in the year 1640, to read and explain the Saxon Goſpels [g], the writer of this article, joining theſe two facts together, and miſrepreſenting both, aſſures us, without the leaſt heſitation, " that *Archbiſhop Uſher* heard Wheloc *read lectures* on the Saxon " language in the Univerſity of Cambridge !" (Biogr. Brit. art. Spelman.)

[f] " Concilia Britannica in lucem editurus, me ſæpe ut *anagnoſta*, at ſæpius ut *diſcipulo*, " uſus eſt." Præfat. ad Lectorem, pag. 2. edit. Cantabrig. fol.

[g] " Mihique ipſe Præſul ampliſſimus Saxonica Evangelia auditoribus ex idiomate Saxo- " num antiquo aperienda tunc quidem (1640.) *propoſuit*. Abſit igitur ut integerrimi heroïs " exemplum et vota *prorſus* exciderent, aut reſpublica literaria ingrata reticentia injuriam pa- " teretur. Sed, dum recolo liberaliores haſce mentis et induſtriæ occupationes a veſtris pri- " mo ſuffragiis profectas eſſe, continuo in mentem mihi ſubit, oportere me ſpecimen aliquod " *gratitudinis*, quantillumcunque, idque de theſauris antiquitatum veſtris, terſum ab annoſo " pulvere, expolitumque, vobis offerre." He therefore publiſhed his Latino-Saxon edition of Bede, &c. Cant. 1644. (Vid. Ded. ſive Præf. ad Academ. Cantabrig. &c.)

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APPENDIX III.

Pages 14 and 16.

ARCHBISHOP Parker, in the Preface to his edition of Aſſer's Life of Alfred, alludes to the publication of the Saxon Goſpels in theſe words: "Quatuor Evangelia eadem lingua" (Saxonica) "atque iiſdem literarum "formulis *excudi curavimus*, et quo facilius ejus cognitionem intelligentiam- "que comprehenderes, Anglica cum Saxonicis in margine *conjunximus*, ta- "libuſque notis atque figurarum ſignis *diſtinximus*, ut perfacile inter ſe di- "verſarum linguarum ſententiæ comparari queant." He mentions DAYE alſo as the *firſt* printer, and, as far as he knew, the *only* one, who engraved the Saxon characters, "æri inciderit;" therefore we may ſafely conclude, that the work aſcribed to Foxe was in reality publiſhed under the direction of the Archbiſhop, and that it is the earlieſt ſpecimen of Saxon typography in England! Aſſer's Annals of the Life of Alfred, though written in Latin, were publiſhed by the learned Archbiſhop about the ſame time in the ſame Saxon characters in which he found the Manuſcript written. It is remarkable, that the oldeſt books in the *Iriſh* language are found printed with *Saxon* types [a], and the *Saxon* characters are alſo ſeen in *Welſh* MSS.

[a] The Moſt Reverend editor of the Iriſh Prayer-book of 1608 aſſerts, in the Dedication of that work to Sir Arthur Chicheſter, Knt. *that the Saxons borrowed their letters from Ireland*; if ſo, it muſt have been long before the period he aſſigns, which is towards the latter end of the eleventh century! The derivation of *Scotia*, the ancient name of Ireland as well as of Scotland, from the *Greek* σκοτια, *darkneſs*, gives us no very favourable idea of the Archbiſhop's accuracy of inveſtigation, or of the *enlightened* ſtate of his countrymen in former times. There is however a ſtriking reſemblance between the Saxon and the Iriſh characters in moſt of the coetaneous manuſcripts; and in all printed books nearly the ſame types were formerly

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The Saxon Gospels were afterwards published by Junius in conjunction with Dr. Marshall, together with the Mœso-Gothic fragments ascribed to Bishop Ulphilas[b]. For this purpose Junius collated four MSS. the Bodleian, the Cantabrigian, the Benedictine, and the Hattonian; not to mention two interlinear versions, which he calls, from the then possessors, the Cottonian and Rushworthian glosses. The former of these interlinear glosses, or Saxon versions, is the more curious and valuable, because its age and author, I think, may be precisely ascertained. It is written in a smaller character, *over* and *between* the lines of a most beautiful and very ancient Latin version, called the Durham book, for a more particular account of which I refer the reader to Wanley's Catalogue, and to the excellent Observations of Dr. Marshall, annexed to the Gothic and Saxon Gospels published by him and Junius, pp. 491, 492. It is now in the British Museum, (B. 2. Nero. D. 4.) Mr. Henshall has lately undertaken a new publication of the Dano-Saxon gloss of this book, together with the fragments of the Ulphilo-Gothic version, in order to illustrate the striking resemblance between those ancient languages and our present English. He seems however to suppose, that the Saxon version is coeval with the Latin; whereas it appears to me to have been written about 360 years after. However this may be, it ought certainly to be called Aldred's gloss, as Dr. Marshall has suggested, because it was written by a priest of that name; as appears from the following memorandum at the end of the MS. "Aldred, presbyter in-"dignus et miserrimus, miþ Godes fultume and sancti Cuþbertes, hit "ofergloésade on Englisc;" that is, "Aldred, an unworthy and miserable "priest, with the help of God and St. Cuthbert, *overglossed* it in English." The question is, who is this Aldred? this *miserable priest*, as he humbly calls himself? I find an Aldred, or Ealdred, mentioned in the Saxon Chro-

formerly used in both languages, as I have observed above; an additional argument, perhaps, for the study of Saxon literature. See the Irish Prayer-book, translated by William Archbishop of Tuam from the Liturgy of the Church of England, "for the comfort of the meere "Irish Churches," &c. printed by Shéon ꝼꝼancke (alias) ꝼꝼanckton, Ꝑꝼıontóıꝼ an Ríoꝝ an Єıꝼın, (i. e. *Printer to the King in Ireland,*) 1608. See also the Cod. Boerner. et Montf. Pal. Gr. p. 237, with all the MSS. *ubi ubi sint*, written by Sedulius *Scotus*.

[b] Dordrechti, typis et sumptibus Junianis, 4to. 1665.

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nicle, who, on the death of Archbiſhop Kinſey, having gone through ſome previous degrees of preferment, was promoted to the ſee of York in the year 1060 [c]. I take him to be the ſame Aldred, Ealdred, or Ældred, who is mentioned alſo in the Saxon Chronicle (anno 1047.) as one of the Engliſh biſhops who went to Rome, to attend a ſynod or council there in that year [d]. And, as the language of the gloſs itſelf is Dano-Saxon, it appears almoſt certain, that it was written not long before this time, and probably by this ſame Aldred, who ſeems to have been ſhortly after rewarded for his piety, learning, and humility, by being choſen a Biſhop, and afterwards Archbiſhop of York. If this account of the age of this Saxon manuſcript can be relied on as accurate, it will be conſidered, I truſt, as a curious and valuable ſpecimen of the language ſpoken in the North of England about the middle of the eleventh century [e].

[c] Chron. Saxon. ad annum, ed. Gibſon. p. 170.

[d] He was then Biſhop of Worceſter, having been promoted to that ſee the year before.

[e] Of the age both of the Latin text and of the Dano-Saxon gloſs the following is the opinion of the induſtrious Wanley: "Mille annorum vetuſtas hujus codicis Latino textui adjudicanda eſt; *De Aldredi ætate nihil certi habeo quod dicam.* Ex dialecto autem Gloſſæ, et manu in qua ſcripta eſt, illum circa tempora Ælfredi regis, octingentis abhinc annis, ſcriptum fuiſſe exiſtimo." Cat. p. 252. Wanley's Catalogue was printed in 1705.

APPENDIX

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APPENDIX IV.

"Operæ pretium erit patrium hunc noſtrum (quo hodie utimur) ſermonem cum illo obſoleto jam pene et extincto conferre, et conferendo, quam ſint inter ſe ſimiles et pene eædem, animadvertere." *Preface to Aſſer's Life of Alfred, edit. Parker. Lond.* 1574.

Page 30.

Pater Noſter on Engliſc.

"Đu ure fæder þe eart on heofenum. beo þin nama gehalga'd. ge-
"cume þin rice. beo þin willa ſwa ſwa on heofenum ſwa ece on eorþan.
"ſyle us to dæg urne dægwhamlican hlaf. And forgif us ure gyltas ſwa
"ſwa we forgifaþ þam þe wiþ us agyltaþ. And ne læd þu na us on coſt-
"nunge, ac alys us from yfele. Sy hit ſwa."

Pater Noſter in Engliſh; (according to the modern orthography.)

"Thou our father that art in heaven. Be thy name hallowed. Come
"thy kingdom. Be thy will ſo as in heaven ſo eke on earth. Sell us to-
"day our daily loaf. And forgive us our guilts ſo as we forgive them that
"with us are guilty. And lead thou not us into cozening [b], but releaſe us
"from evil. Be it ſo."

[a] I have purpoſely printed the few ſpecimens here given of the Saxon language with common types, becauſe there is only one Saxon character, þ, which is not repreſented equally well by the Roman. This is therefore retained; and perhaps, if the Saxon þ, or ð, like the Greek θ, or ϑ, was neceſſary in former times, it is equally ſo now. In fact, it was generally uſed in Engliſh MSS. till the invention of printing, and for ſome time after.

[b] This word is now uſed in a ſtronger ſenſe than it was among the Saxons; it is from the verb coſnian, or coſnian, tentare; connected with *accoſter*, to *accoſt*, *coſta*, *coſtè*, &c.

Se

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Se læſſe Creda.

" Ic gelyfe on God fæder ælmihtigne. ſcyppend heofonan and eorþan.
" And ic gelyfe on hælend Criſt his ancennedan ſunu urne drihten. ſe
" wæs ge-eacnod of þam halgan gaſte. and acenned of Marian þam mæ-
" dene. geþrowod under þam Pontiſcan Pilate. on rode ahangen. He wæs
" dead and bebyrged. and he nyther aſtah to helle. and he aras of
" deaþe on þam þriddan dæge. and he aſtah up to heofenum. and ſitteþ
" nu æt ſwiþran Godes ælmihtiges fæder. þanon he wyle cuman to dem-
" enne ægþer ge þam cucum ge þam deadum. And ic gelyfe on þone
" halgan gaſt. and þa halgan gelaþunge. and halgena gemænnyſſe. and
" ſynna forgifenyſſe. and flæſces ariſt. and þat ece life. Sy hit ſwa."

Mæſſe Creda.

" Ic gelyfe on ænne God fæder ælmihtygne. wyrcend heofenan and eor-
" þan. and ealra geſewenlicra þinga and ungeſewenlicra. and on ænne Criſt
" hælend drihten. þone ancennedan Godes ſunu. Of þam fæder acenned
" ær ealle worulda. God of God. leoht of leoht. Soþne Gode of ſoþum
" Gode. Acennedne. na geworhtne. efentowiſtlice þam fæder. þurh þone
" ſynd ealle þing geworhte. ſe for us mannum and for ure hæle neþer
" aſtah of heofenum. and wearþ geflæſc-hamod of þam halgan gaſte.
" and of Marian þam mædene. and wearþ mann geworden. He þrowade
" eac ſwylce. on rode ahangen for us. and he was bebyrged. and he
" aras on þam þriddan dæge. ſwa ſwa gewritu ſecgaþ. and he aſtah to
" heofenum. and he ſitt æt ſwiþran his fæder. and he eft cymþ mid
" wuldre to demenne þam cuicum and þam deadum. And his rices ne biþ
" nan ende. And ic gelyfe on þone halgan gaſt þone liffæſtendan God.
" ſe gæth of þam fæder and of þam ſuna. and ſe is mid þam fæder and
" mid þam ſuna gebeden and gewuldro'd. and ſe ſpræc þurh witegan. Ic
" andette þa anan halgan and þa geleaffullan and þa Apoſtolican gelaþunge.
" And an fulluht on forgifnyſſe ſynna. And ic andbidige æriſtes deaddra
" manna. And thæs ecan lifes thære toweardan worulde. Sy hit ſwa."

From the above ſpecimens of the Saxon language, compared with our preſent Engliſh, I think it may fairly be concluded, that it is from this ancient

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cient and primeval ſource we muſt principally trace the character, the idiom, and the origin, of our native tongue; and, notwithſtanding the unworthy complaints that we hear of the inſtability and fluctuation thereof, perhaps there are few languages that have ſtood the teſt of ſo many eventful centuries, and ſo many political revolutions, and yet have retained ſo much of their original ſtrength and ſplendour. In order to prove how much even Milton himſelf is indebted for the majeſtic ſimplicity of his verſe to the Saxon materials therein, I have ventured to give a tranſlation of the firſt ſixteen lines of the Paradiſe Loſt into that language; a kind of exerciſe, which, together with that of modernizing ancient documents, might be recommended to all Saxon ſtudents as both amuſing and inſtructive.

The few words which it was neceſſary to ſubſtitute in the room of thoſe of Latin etymology are marked with inverted commas.

Milton's Paradiſe Loſt, Book I.

Of mannes fyrſt "unhyrſumneſſe [c]," and þæs
"Wæſtmes [d]" of þat forbiddene treowe, hwa's tæſt [e]

[c] The word unhýþſumneſſe affords a convenient ſpecimen of the general etymology of the Saxon language. From the verb hýran, *to hear*, is derived the adjective hýþſum, *inclined to hear*, i. e. *obedient*; *dicto audiens*, *obaudiens*, or *obediens*, Lat. neſſe is a common addition to expreſs a quality, or the indication of ſome quality, as hýþſumneſſe, *obedience*; to which the guttural particle ge may be added *ad libitum*, which will form ge-hýþſumneſſe: if we then prefix the negative particle un, derived from the participle ge-þon, *wanted*, we ſhall ſee the whole ſtructure of the Saxon word, ungehýþſumneſſe. And it is remarkable, that the ſame proceſs has been obſerved in the formation of the word diſ-ob-ED-ience: the radical of which is *aud-io*, from the Greek, οὖς, ὠτος, the *ear*. In ſome of the beſt MSS. and printed editions of Salluſt we have the word *obaudientia*, not *obedientia*. Bell. Catilinar. ſub init.

[d] *Fruit* being derived from *fruit*, Fr. *fructus*, Lat. it is neceſſary here to uſe the Saxon word *wæſtmes*, which ſignifies the ſame. And, for the ſame reaſon, *un-bear-ſom-neſs* for *diſobedience*.

[e] The word *mortal* is omitted in this line; indeed, "*mortal* taſte—Brought *death* into the "world," &c. is a tautology unworthy of Milton, though it ſeems to have been overlooked by all his commentators and editors. *Tæſt* is a noun formed from the paſt participle of the verb *tæſan*, *vellicare*, *to pluck*, whence, in another ſenſe, the modern verb *to teaze*. This, it is hoped, is ſufficient authority. I believe the word *taſte*, in our preſent acceptation of it, which Dr. Johnſon

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Broht deaþ in to þe world, and eall ure wa,
Wiþ loſe of Eden, til an greater man
An-ſteor us, and an-g'ahne þe bliſsful ſæt,
Sing, heofenlic Muſe, þe on þam "diglod" top
Of Oreb, oþþe of Sinai, "onbeblew'ſt"
Done ſceaphyrd, hwa fyrſt tæ'hte the ceoſen ſæd,
On þe beginning hu þe heofen and eorþ
Ras ut of Chaos; oþþe, gif Sion hill
De "lyſtath" mare, and Siloa's broc þat flow'd
Faſte bi þe "ſtefne[f]" of God; þanon ic nu
Call on þine aide to min "gedyrſtig[g]" ſong,
Dat wiþ na middel fliht "upgangan" wolde
Begeond þe' Aoniſc munt, hwile hit "ehte" *thing*[h]
Unwriten get on "forth-rihte[i]" oþþe on rime!

Johnſon and others derive from *teſter*, to try, (Qu. *teſtari?*) does not exiſt in any document written in the Saxon language that is now extant, being the ſame with *teſt*, an *experiment*, &c.

[f] *Steven*, for *voice*, or *oracle*, was retained from the Saxon word as lately as the time of Chaucer, and afterwards. It is found in Hampole's "Stimulus Conſcientiæ," an Engliſh Poem written in the fifteenth century; two MSS. of which are in the archives of Trinity College, Oxford. See Chaucer, *paſſim*, Johan. Capellan. and others.

[g] The final ȝ here, as the ȝ above in *heofenlic*, was latterly almoſt *quieſcent*, and the whole word was pronounced by the Normans, ydurȝe; *I durſt* is a phraſe well underſtood in the preſent day. The initial ȝ, before e, &c. was alſo frequently pronounced as *y* in *yet*, *ye*, &c.

[h] *Thing* was ſometimes uſed by our Saxon anceſtors both in the ſingular and plural number, as the vulgar now ſay, *two mile*, *two pound*, &c. inſtead of *two miles*, *two pounds*, &c.

[i] *Forth-riht* is uſed by Ælfric, the compiler of the Latino-Saxon Grammar in the eleventh century, to ſignify *proſe*, as oppoſed to *verſe*, or *metre*. The word is very expreſſive, particularly with reference to the other term *rime*; and I hope here to be indulged in a little verbal criticiſm, becauſe I find the latter word has been much miſunderſtood. *Forth-riht* denotes a compoſition which flows *right onward*, or *forthward*, without breaks or interruptions, from one line to another; and therefore properly ſignifies *proſe*. *Rime*, which has been erroneouſly ſuppoſed by ſome to be derived from the Greek ῥυθμος, and therefore corrupted by degrees, firſt into *rhime*, and then into *rhyme*, has been as erroneouſly reſtricted by others to ſignify thoſe ὁμοιοτελευτα, or *homoioteleutic* lines in modern poetry, to the jingle of which the ancient poets were ſtrangers. The word *Rim*, in moſt of the Northern languages, implies, in its firſt ſenſe, any limit, end, or extremity whatever, as, the *rim* of a glaſs, the

rime,

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rima, or light hoar froſt, which ſo beautifully *tips* the *extremities* of the trees, buſhes, and hedges, in the winter. It ſometimes ſignifies the *completion* of *numbers*, and *rimcraft* is *arithmetic*, or the ſcience of numbers. Applied to written compoſitions, it is a certain number or meaſure of metrical feet, limited by the rules of *poetry*, and therefore properly oppoſed to *forth-ribt*, or *proſe*. Now it is obvious, that this definition of the word is not only conſiſtent with its etymology, but alſo applicable univerſally to all poetry, both ancient and modern; which Milton of courſe intended it ſhould be, when he declared his loſty purpoſe of purſuing

"Things unattempted yet in proſe or rime."

If the reader will turn to the *variorum* notes on this paſſage in Todd's edition of Milton, I truſt he will not deem this long note unneceſſary. That Mr. Todd ſhould have invariably printed *rhyme* inſtead of *rime*, contrary to the text of all the beſt editions, is altogether inexcuſable. *Rim*, Teut. Germ. Belg. Sax. Dan. Swed. Iſland. &c. *rima*, Ital. *rime*, Fr. &c. &c.

WHILE the compoſitor was ſetting his types for this ſheet, it occurred to me, that, as he wanted materials to complete it, I could not more uſefully fill a few vacant pages, than by adding the Saxon, Gothic, Runic, and Iſlandic alphabets, for the uſe of ſuch as may be deſirous of cultivating this kind of literature; in which I have introduced as many different characters as I could repreſent by our preſent apparatus of Northern typography. Thoſe however who are ſo fortunate as to poſſeſs a copy of the magnificent Theſaurus of Dr. Hickes, or who can have acceſs to it in libraries, may collect from the various plates in that work a complete *Palæographia Septentrionalis*, forming a valuable counterpart to the elaborate *Palæographia Græca* of Montfaucon.

It is very much to be lamented, that the plates, on which fac-ſimiles of Manuſcripts and other ſuch curioſities are engraved, are not more frequently preſerved, to be uſed again on any future occaſion. The utility, and even neceſſity, of having recourſe to various forms of letters, in order to read Manuſcripts with facility, to decypher coins and monumental inſcriptions, and ſometimes to reſtore the genuine text of an author in a corrupted

 paſſage,

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paſſage, muſt be ſeen and acknowledged by all. In order therefore to contribute ſome little aſſiſtance in this way, and for the ſake of thoſe who may be deſirous of making any great progreſs in Northern literature, I have enquired into the ſtate of the Junian types, among which I expected to find the greateſt variety of Septentrional characters. They are ſtill preſerved, though in imperfect ſets, in the Clarendon Printing-houſe; but alas! as Junius, who left them to the Univerſity, has been dead nearly 130 years, and as no conſiderable work that required them has been printed there for more than a century, they are, unfortunately, in ſuch a ſtate as we might *expect* indeed, but by no means in ſuch a ſtate as we ſhould *deſire*; not worn out by uſe, but rendered almoſt uſeleſs by *deſœuvrement*! There are, however, perfect ſets of the common Saxon characters, the ſame which were uſed more than a century ago in printing the valuable works of Hickes, Wanley, Thwaites, Gibſon, Chr. Rawlinſon, and other Saxon ſcholars of that period. Theſe are in a tolerable ſtate of preſervation, though many of the letters are very much worn. The misfortune is, that theſe types are caſt of a different height from thoſe now in uſe; ſo that they cannot be worked together in the ſame page. But, if any encouragement were given to this kind of literature, a new plan might be adopted, of printing all the moſt important remains of the Saxon language with the common Roman types, reſerving the þ only, as at leaſt an uſeful and elegant abbreviation, being more pleaſing to the eye than th; as may be ſeen by the word oþþe, compared with oththe, &c. Some may even think it a neceſſary character, to make a diſtinction between the ſound of th when united, and that of the ſame letters when they belong to two ſeparate ſyllables. Many learned men regret the loſs of this character, which we ſeem to have ignorantly aboliſhed out of compliment to our neighbours. They indeed relinquiſhed it long ago, becauſe they had long loſt the ſound of it; for it is a remarkable fact, that there are only TWO nations in Europe who have preſerved the original pronunciation of this letter; namely, the ENGLISH and the ISLANDIC.

THE

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THE SAXON ALPHABET.

ROM.	SAXON.		
A	A	Ā	a
B	B	β	b
C	Ⅎ	Γ	c
D	D	Þ	ð
E	Є	E	e
F	F	Ⅎ	ƒ
G	Ⅎ	G	ʒ
H	Ⅎ	H	h
I	I	J	ı
K	K	C	k
L	L	Ⅎ	l
M	Ⅿ	Ⅿ	m
N	N	Ⅿ	n
O	O		o
P	P		p
Q	Q	Ⅎ	cu
R	R		ꝓ
S	S	Z	ſ
T	T		ꝺ
V	U	Y	u
VV	Ƿ	Ⅲ	ƿ
X	X	+	x
Y	Y	Ꞅ	ŷ
Z	Z	S	z
Ð, ð, þ, *th*, ϑ, θ.			

A kind of Italic *a* is much uſed in MSS. The diphthong œ, æ, or ea, occurs continually, where we now uſe the ſingle a, or e. The firſt is moſt frequent in the Dano-Saxon.

A character is found in coins and MSS. which reſembles the ϲ or β of the Greek alphabet. Ⅎ, which differs from the Γ of the Greeks only by the addition of the horizontal line below, and is often found in coins without it, may be conſidered as older than the circular form of the Roman letter C. It is the Hebrew ג or כ turned from the left to the right. Ⅎ and G are evidently variations of Ⅎ and C. CAIUS was pronounced GAIUS in the time of Quinctilian.

From the *two* ſides of a triangle ד, the Hebrew Daleth, the Greeks formed their Δ by adding the *third*; the Romans converted one of the angles into a ſemicircle, Ð, which being turned the contrary way becomes ð, the ð of the Mœſo-Gothic alphabet. See the Runic alphabet.

The Saxons dotted the ẏ inſtead of the ı, being at firſt perhaps written q̈, the ü *twice dotted* of the Germans, and the ï of the Ulphilo-Gothic alphabet, which correſponds with the ï in the Alexandrian, Beza, and other old MSS. of the New Teſtament; as ïOΥΔAC. ïΔONTEC. ΠΡΩÏ. The Iriſh dotted the Saxon ʒ inſtead of the ẏ.

Whether the old Saxons had the letter K, and diſcarded it, like the Romans, I know not; C was generally uſed till the Danes and Normans introduced K; probably from the Runic Ƿ. It is uſed at preſent, as formerly, in order to prevent the ſoft ſound of C. See the Runic alphabet.

The Roman M is generally found both in Anglo-Saxon and Dano-Saxon coins; being more eaſily ſhaped by the *monetarii*. All letters may be ob-

 ſerved

ſerved to aſſume an angular form in coins, types, monumental inſcriptions, &c. whereas in writing they naturally run into circles, ſemicircles, and flouriſhes. M ſeems to correſpond with the Hebrew מ, having an additional ſtroke to the left, to diſtinguiſh it from n, with which, nevertheleſs, it has been often confounded. See the Iſlandic alphabet, &c. &c.

N ſeems to be derived from the Runic ᚾ, or ᚿ, by adding a perpendicular. See Profeſſor Worm's Literatura Runica, p. 115. Hafn. 1651.

O appears in various forms on coins; ſometimes it aſſumes the figure of a croſs with a circle deſcribed in the centre; ſometimes it repreſents a *ſquare* inſtead of a *circle*, &c. &c. Vid. Hickes. Diſſert. Epiſt. p. 168.

The Saxons, like the latter Romans, expreſſed the ק of the Hebrews, the ϟ[1] or Koppa of the Cadmean Greeks, the ᛩ of the Goths, &c. by two or three characters inſtead of one; cp, cw, quu, or cu. If this be a defect, it was ſo alſo in the *refined* orthography of the Greeks and Romans; κου-αρτος, quartus, &c. Q indeed very ſeldom occurs in Saxon MSS.

Y, or V, is nothing more nor leſs than y *Greque*, as the French call it, the Greek υ, or ν, the Latin v, &c. and ſo uſed in coins and MSS. Modern Grammarians have raiſed it to the rank of a *conſonant!*

F, or ƿ, differs only in form from the Æolic digamma, F, or ϝ, by cloſing the two horizontal lines which proceed from the perpendicular. In the middle or the end of a word or a ſyllable it retains its original ſound of *u*, *w*, *v*, *oo*, or the w and ü of the Welſh. It is ſometimes confounded

[1] Theſe characters ſtood for the number 90 in all thoſe languages, if we except the Hebrew; for by ſome means or other the ע, the letter preceding פ in the alphabet of that language, appears to have uſurped its place, if we may judge from the arrangement that is made of the letters in Pſal. cxix. and in other places; as in Prov. xxi. 10. &c. and ſix times in the Lamentations of Jeremiah. The Greek ϟ, or Koppa, for 90, is ſtill to be ſeen in moſt MSS. and printed editions of Thucydides, and other Greek authors, whoſe works are divided into chapters. Vide Quinctil. Geſner. I. 4. 9. ed. Oxon. Montfaucon, Palæogr. Gr. p. 569. Ariſtoph. Nub. v. 23. cum nott. edd. in voc. Κοππατιαν. I ſuſpect that the *Samech* of the Hebrew alphabet (ס) was introduced, at a time comparatively modern, by thoſe who could not pronounce the *Schin*, (ש,) as in the famous word *Shibboleth*, which the Ephraimites ſoftened into *Sibboleth*, to the great contempt of thoſe who retained the original pronunciation. The Germans have preſerved the proper *pronunciation* of this character, but they are obliged to uſe *three* characters (ſch) in the *ſymbolization* of it.

with

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with P in coins and MSS. Hence Sir H. Saville read Edpard for Edward, &c. In the beginning of a word or syllable it is the Roman V.

Z of course is a variation of δ, Σ; Z, ζ, ʒ; to express a distinction of sound. The Romans generally used ss or x, as in *caussa*, *massa*; μαζα, Gr. Besides the foregoing characters, ſ, σ, ſſ, ſt, ꝛ for ꝓ, &c. &c. are frequently found in Saxon MSS. ss, for ſſ, we seem to have borrowed from the French, our guides in typography as in every thing else, making no distinction between the small letter and the capital; but the similarity of f and ſ certainly occasions many mistakes in printing. ꝥ, *thæt*, or *that*, ⁊, *et*, or *and*, ⁊, *vel*, & *or*; &c. are common abbreviations in MSS. and printed books.

The *Theta* of the Saxon alphabet, Ð, ð, or þ, corresponding with the Greek Θ, ϑ, θ, and the Runic ᚦ, which has been called *Thorn*, from the stroke which pierces the body of the perpendicular line in the first, is unfortunately become obsolete. The Gothic ⊙, to express hw, or the quhw of the Scoto-Saxon, was equally worthy of being preserved, and, as it is a handsome letter, may yet be revived. I have therefore procured some types to represent this and some other long-forgotten characters, the sounds of which they are the symbols being but imperfectly represented by our present system of typography; much less can we print correct editions of Chaucer, Gawin Douglas, &c. without them. The use of ð and þ is particularly necessary, and might be of great service even now, not only to enable us to distinguish the different sounds of *th* in such words as *thy* and *thigh*, *this* and *thistle*, *that* and *thatch*, &c. &c. but also to lead all future grammarians into a rational system of orthography and orthoepy. At the same time I beg leave to observe, that I do not wish to introduce any unnecessary innovations, where custom has so long prevailed. Some may even think, that every alphabet might be *reduced* to about *nine simple consonants*, and *one vowel*; all the rest being nice distinctions, elegant abbreviations, artificial combinations, &c. &c. invented by Pythagoras and others, in times comparatively modern, and continued since under different forms, *pro vario genio ac libitu scriptorum*. But we know what uncertainty has arisen in the Hebrew and Runic languages, from the adoption of minute *points* to supply the deficiency of *letters*. See the Runic alphabet in the next page.

1. The

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1. The Moeso-Gothic Alphabet of Ulphilas.

1. Α α α.	8. Η η ϝ.	60. Ϛ ϛ ϛ ι.	400. Θ θ θ θ hp.
2. Β β β.	9. Φ φ φ ϕ.	70. Ν ν ν ν.	500. Ϝ ϝ ϝ φ.
3. Γ γ γ.	10. Ϊ ϊ ι ι.	80. Π π π.	600. Χ χ χ.
4. Δ δ δ.	20. Κ κ κ χ.	90. Ϥ ϥ ϥ.	700. Ψ ψ ψ υ υ.
5. Ε ε ε ι.	30. Λ λ λ.	100. Κ ρ ρ.	800. Ϡ ο ω.
6. Ϋ ϋ υ υ VI.	40. Μ μ μ.	200. Ϛ ϛ ϛ.	900. Η ε ε.
7. Ζ ζ ζ.	50. Ν ν ν.	300. Τ τ τ.	1000. ψΠϚΠΝΔ.

2. The Scytho-Gothic, Runic, Cimbric, or Scandic alphabet.

ᚠ F V. Fie, or feoh. *fee*,	ᛏ ᛋ T. Tyr. *taur-us*, Mars, &c.
ᚢ U. Ur, *ferri* scintilla, vel *pluvia*.	ᛒ B. Biarkan, or birk, betula, *birch*.
ᚦ ᛋ D. Duss, θεος, *deus*,	ᛚ L. Lagur, *liquor*.
ᛅ O. Oys, *ostium* fluminis.	ᛘ M. Madur, *man*.
ᚱ ᛅ R. Ridhr, or rad, *rider*.	ᚠ V W. *Stungen* fie, or wen.
ᚴ K. Kaun, or ken, *ulcus*.	ᚢ Y. *Stungen* ur.
ᚼ H. Hægl, *hail*,	ᚦ Th. *Stungen* duss, or thorn. ᚦ.
ᚾ N. Nadur, or nyd, *need*.	ᛁ C. *Kne*-sol.
ᛁ I. Jis, ire, Sax. malè hod. *ice*.	ᚠ G. *Stungen* kaun.
ᛅ A. Aar, *anni* proventus.	ᛇ E. *Stungen* jis.
ᛋ ᛊ S. Sigel, or sol, *sail*, or *sun*.	ᛒ P. *Stungen* birk, or biarkan.

In this alphabet I have followed the order of the Runic characters, as they are placed for golden numbers and dominical letters in the old calendars. In the modern series they stand thus, in compliance with modern alphabets:

ᛅ A ᛒ B ᛁ C ᚦ D ᛇ E ᚠ F ᚠ G ᚼ H ᛁ I ᚴ K ᛚ L ᛘ M ᚾ N ᛅ O ᛒ P ᚴ Q ᚱ ᛅ R ᛋ S
ᛏ ᛋ T ᚢ U ᚠ W ᚼ ᛋ X ᚢ Y ᚦ TH.

3. The Islandic alphabet; the same with the Franco-Teutonic, modern German, Danish, Swedish, English Black letter, &c. &c.

A B C D E F G H I K L M N O P Q R S T V W X Y Z.
a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r s s t u v w x y y z ꝥ.

The Lord's Prayer in this ancient language.

Fader uor þu som ert a Himnum/ Helgest þitt Nafn/ Tilkome þitt Rijke/ Verde þinn villie/ so a Jordu/ sem a Himne/ Gieff þu oß i dag uort daglegt Braud/ Og fiergieff oß uorar Skullder/ sosem vier fyergiefum uorum Skuldinaurum/ Og inleid oß ecke i Freistne/ Heldr frelsa þu oß fra illu/ Þujad þitt er Rijked/ og Maatr/ og Dyrd/ in allder allda/ Amen.

In

In the Gothic alphabet it will be ſeen, that I have changed the common order of the letters, and introduced two new characters! The former of theſe innovations, however, is ſupported by authority which cannot be reſiſted; for I have merely followed the order in which I find the letters placed in the margin of the Mœſo-Gothic Goſpels. As they ſtand there for *numbers*, as regularly as the Hebrew letters in many parts of the Old Teſtament, it occurred to me, that ſince Junius and others raſhly adopted the A, B, C, of the modern languages, and printed their alphabets according to their own fancy, it was neceſſary to have recourſe to ſome higher authority. On comparing my alphabet afterwards with the Greek and the Hebrew, I was agreeably ſurprized to find, that they almoſt entirely coincided. For the other innovation, the introduction of two new characters into the alphabet, or rather, perhaps, the revival of the old, I refer the reader to the ſame authority, and to a MS. treatiſe *On the Letters and Language of the Goths*, mentioned by Profeſſor Thwaites in the notes to his Mœſo-Gothic alphabet. See alſo the four alphabets of J. Hepburn, i. e. the Gothic, the Getic, the Scythian, and the Maſſagetic, engraved in Hickes's Theſaurus, Gram. Iſland. p. 4. The Runic alphabet has been reſtored on the ſame plan.

As a mere experiment, I have ventured to enlarge my original deſign, by publiſhing an extract from King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon verſion of Oroſius, in which I have retained the þ only of the Saxon alphabet, for the reaſons before mentioned. Whether antiquaries in general will approve or condemn the innovation, I know not; but I have the ſatisfaction of aſſuring them and the public, that I had an opportunity of ſhewing the firſt ſheet to a Gentleman of the higheſt authority and experience as an antiquary, when he was lately at Oxford, and that he was kindly pleaſed to give me his unqualified approbation of the whole plan; and with a liberal and patriotic zeal for the advancement of Saxon learning, and the knowledge of our Engliſh antiquities, he alſo ſignified at the ſame time his noble intention of ſending to the Univerſity all his valuable printed books and manuſcripts relating to thoſe ſubjects!

En-

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Encouraged and animated by ſo generous a donation, though my labours may fail of ſucceſs, or may be executed in a manner unworthy of public patronage, I feel it to be my duty to contribute ſome little aſſiſtance to the cultivation of this too much neglected branch of Engliſh literature.

I have begun therefore with a very eaſy and pure ſpecimen of the Saxon language, which claims the immortal Alfred for its author! It deſcribes the *land-marks*, or boundaries, of all Europe, as they were known in the *ninth century*; and it is a very valuable and neceſſary document to illuſtrate the geography of the middle ages. That part of it which contains an authentic hiſtory of THREE VOYAGES MADE IN THE NORTH SEAS IN THE NINTH CENTURY, one of which is a profeſſed voyage of DISCOVERY, was inſerted by King Alfred himſelf into his verſion of Oroſius, and it is generally believed to be the original compoſition of that truly great man. The *unbelieving* reader, however, may conſult the Preface of the Hon. Mr. DAINES BARRINGTON, brother to the preſent Biſhop of Durham, in his edition of this work, if he happens to have a copy of it. It was from this publication of Mr. Barrington, now become very ſcarce, of which I have a preſentation copy, with a MS. letter of the editor, through the friendſhip of Mr. Price, the Bodleian Librarian, that I firſt intended to reprint this valuable extract; and I concluded, from Mr. Barrington's general knowledge as an antiquary, and from his acquaintance with the Saxon language in particular, that I ſhould have very little more to do than to deliver the copy to the compoſitor, *ſudante prelo*; but, on examination, I found the text of his book ſo inaccurately printed, and the tranſlation in many parts ſo completely unintelligible, that I determined to collate the whole with the Junian tranſcript from the Cotton library, (Tib. B. 1.) and other MSS. and printed books in the Bodleian. I have alſo reviſed the tranſlation throughout, and only followed him in thoſe places where I ſaw no reaſon to depart from him. I have preſerved ſome of his notes, as well as the geographical illuſtrations of Mr. J. Reinhold Forſter, who, having ſailed round the WORLD, and being particularly famous for his knowledge of the North of Europe, both by land and ſea, muſt be conſidered as a valuable commentator on the geography of Alfred and Oroſius.

THE

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THE

GEOGRAPHY OF EUROPE;

EXTRACTED

FROM KING ALFRED'S

ANGLO-SAXON VERSION OF OROSIUS.

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THE

GEOGRAPHY OF EUROPE

IN

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THE

GEOGRAPHY OF EUROPE

BY

KING ALFRED, &c.

NU wille we ymb Europe land-gemære reccan. ſwa mycel ſwa we hit ſyrmeſt witon:. Fram þære éa Danais weſt oþ Rin þa éa. (ſeo wylþ of þæm beorge þe man Alpis hæt. and yrnþ þonne norþrihte on þæs garſecges earm þe þæt land utan ymbliþ þe man Bryttannia hæt.) and eft ſuþ oþ Donua[a] þa éa. (þære æwylme[b] is neah þære éa Rines. and is ſiþþan eaſt yrnende wiþ Norþan Creca-lande ut on þone Wendel ſæ.) and norþ on þone garſege þe man Cwen ſæ hæt. binnan þæm ſyndon manega þeoda. ac hit man hæt eall Germania:. Ðonne wiþ norþan Donua æwylme and be eaſtan Rine ſyndon Eaſtfrancan. and be ſuþan him ſyndon Swæfas. on oþre healfe þære éa Donua. and be ſuþan him and be eaſtan ſyndon Bægþ-ware. ſe dæl þe man Regneſ-burh hæt. and rihte be eaſtan him ſyndon Beme. and eaſt norþ findon Ðyringas. and be norþan him ſyndon eald Seaxan. and be norþanweſtan him ſyndon Fryſan. and be weſtan eald Seaxum is Ælfe muþa þære éa and Fryſland. and þanon weſt norþ is þæt land þe man Angle hæt. and Sillende. and ſumne dæl Dena. and be norþan him is Apdrede. and eaſt norþ wylte þe man Hæfeldan[c] hæt. and be eaſtan him is Wineda land. þe man hæt Syſyle. and eaſt ſuþ ofer ſumne dæl Maroaro. and hi Maroaro habbaþ be weſtan him Ðyringas and Behemas and Bægþware healfe. and

[a] *Donaw* is preferred by Milton to the latinized term *Danube*. J. I.

[b] Hence the name of Ewelm in Oxfordſhire. *J. I.*

[c] I have adopted the aſpirate H here from a various reading. *J. I.*

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be suþan him on oþre healfe Donua þære éa is þæt land Carendre. suþ oþ þa beorgas þe man Alpis hæt. to þæm ilcan beorgum licgaþ Bægþwara landgemære and Swæfa:. Donne be eastan Carendran lande begeondan þæm westenne is Pulgara land. and be eastan þæm is Creca land. and be eastan Meroaro lande is Wisleland. and be eastan þæm sind Datia [d]. þa þe iu wæron Gottan:. Be norþan eastan Maroara syndon Dalamensan. and be eastan Dalamensam sindon Horithi. and be norþan Dalamensam sindon Surpè. and be westan him sindon Syselè:. Be norþan Horiti is Mægþaland. and be norþan Mægþaland is Sermendè. oþ þa beorgas Riffin. and be westan suþ Denum is þæs garsecges earm þe liþ ymbutan þæt land Brittannia. and be norþan him is þæs sæs earm þe man hæt Ost sæ. and be eastan him and be norþan him syndon norþ Denè. ægþer ge on þæm maran landum ge on þæm iglandum. and be eastan him syndon Afdredè. and be suþan him is Ælfe nuþa þære éa. and eald Seaxna sum dæl:. Norþ Denè habbaþ him be norþan þone ilcan sæs earm þe man Ost sæ hæt. and be eastan him syndon Osti þa leode. and Afdredè be suþan:. Osti habbaþ be norþan him þone ilcan sæs earm. and Winedas and Burgendas. and be suþan him syndon Hæfeldan:. Burgendan habbaþ þone ylcan sæs earm be westan him. and Sweon be norþan. and be eastan him sint Sermendè. and be suþan him Surfè:. Sweon habbaþ be suþan him þone sæs earm Osti. and be eastan him Sermendè. and be norþan ofer þa westennu is Cwen land. and be westan norþan him sindon Scride-Finnas. and be westan Norþmenn.

" Oht-here sæde his hlaforde Ælfrede kynincge þæt he ealra Norþmanna " norþmest bude:. He cwæþ þæt he bude on þæm lande norþeweardum wiþ " þa west sæ. he sæde þeah þæt þæt land sy swyþe lang norþ þanon. ac hit is " eall weste buton on feawum stowum. sticce mælum wiciaþ Finnas. on " huntaþe on wintra. and on sumera on fiscoþe be þære sæ:. He sæde þæt " he æt sumum cyrre wolde fandian hu lange þæt land norþ-riht læge. oþþe " hwæther ænig man be norþan þæm westene bude:. Da for he norþrihte

[d] Qu. *Dacæ* ? c is often confounded with ꝛ in Saxon MSS. not to mention that *Dacia* and *Datia* are generally pronounced alike. *Dacæ* being once written *Dacè*, then *Dacia*, the transition to *Datia* appears natural and obvious. But perhaps the country is put inadvertently for the inhabitants. The words of Orosius are: " Dacia, ubi et Gothia." *J. I.*

" be

" be þæm lande. let him ealne weg þæt weste land on þæt steorbord and
" þa wæl sæ on bæc-bord þry dagas. þa wæs he swa feor norþ swa swa hwæl
" huntan fyrrest faraþ. þa for he þa gyt norþ-ryhte swa he mihte on þæm
" oþrum þrim dagum geseglian. þa beah [e] þæt land þær easte ryhte oþþe sio
" sæ in on þæt land. he nyste hwæþer. buton he wiste þæt he þær bad
" westan windes. oþþe hwone norþan. and seglede þanon east be land swa
" swa he mihte on feower dagum geseglian. þa sceolde he bidan ryhte
" norþan windes. forþan þæt land þær beah suþrihte oþþe sio sæ in on þæt
" land he nyste hwæþer. þa seglede he þanon suþrihte be lande swa swa he
" mihte on fif dagum geseglian:. Da læg þær an mycel ea up in þæt land.
" þa cyrdon hy up in on þa ea. for þæm hy ne dorston forþ be þære ea seg-
" lian for unfriþe. for þæm þæt land wæs eall gebún [f] on oþre healfe þære
" eas. ne mette he ær nan gebún land syþþan he fram hys agnum hame
" for. ac him wæs ealne weg weste land on þæt steorbord butan fisceran
" and fugeleran and huntan. and þæt wæron ealle Finnas. and him wæs a'
" wid sæ on þæt bæc-bord:. Da Beormas hæfdon swiþe well gebún hyra
" land. ac hi ne dorston þær on cuman. ac þæra Terfenna land wæs eall
" weste. butan þær huntan gewicodon. oþþe fisceras. oþþe fugeleras:.

" Fela spella him sædon þa Beormas. ægþer ge of hyra agenum lande
" ge of þæm lande þe ymb hy utan wæran. ac he nyste hwæt þæs soþes wæs.
" for þæm he hyt sylf ne geseah:. Da Finnas (him þuhte) and þa Beormas
" spræcon neah an geþeode:. Swiþost he for þyder to eacan þæs landes
" sceawunge. for þæm horf-hwælum. for þæm hi habbaþ swyþe æþele ban on
" hyra toþum. þa teþ hy broton sume þæm cyninge. and hyra hyd biþ
" swiþe god [g] to sciprapum:. Se hwæl biþ micle læssa þonne oþre hwalas.

[e] This word is not translated well by Mr. Barrington, "the land *lay*," &c; it is the preterit from the verb buȝan, or byȝan, to *bow*, or *bend*; and well expresses the bend or turn of the land to the east at the North Cape. It occurs again a few lines below. *J. I.*

[f] Mr. Barrington improperly prints ȝebon here, and ȝebunð in the next line. I find ȝebún in the Junian transcript with a dash over the ú in both places, perhaps as a mark of contraction for ȝebuȝen, as we find *ta'en* used by our poets for *taken*. So below, á is used like the Scottish abbreviation in a', ca' fa', ha', wa', &c. for *all, call, fall, hall, wall*, &c. a' signifies *all, always, at all times*, &c. translated simply, *a wide sea*, by Mr. Barrington! *J. I.*

[g] " Hic incipit lacuna in Cod. MS. Lauderdal. qua laborat usque ad cap. ix. lib. i. p. 20." Marginal note by Dr. Marshall in the Junian transcript of Alfred's Orosius, p. 10. *J. I.*

" ne

" he bi þa lengra þonne fyftan mila lange. ac on ælcum ende is he bet-
" ra hwæl huntaþ. þa heoþ cahte mid feoweritiges elna lange. and þa mæſtan
" fifiges elna lange. þonne he ſæde þæt he fyxa ſum oþloge fyxtig on twam
" dagum. He was ſuþe ſpedig man on þæm ælcum þe heora ſpeda on
" beoþ. þæt is on wildrum [k]. He hæfde þa gyt. þa he þone cyning ſohte.
" tamra deora unbebohtra ſyxhundo (þa deor ti hataþ hranas) þara wæron
" fyx ſcel hranas. þa beoþ ſwyþe dyre mid Finnum. for þæm hy ſoþ þa
" wilddeor hranas mid.

" He wæs mid þæm fyftuna mannum on þæm lande. næfde he þeah ma
" þonne tentig hryþera and twentig ſceapa and twentig ſwyna. and þæt
" lytle þæt he erede he ædele mid herfan. ac hyra ár is mæſt on þæm gafole
" þe Finnas him gyldaþ. þæt gafol lið on deora felhum and on fugela
" feþerum and hwales bane. and on þæm ſciprapum þe beoþ of hwæles
" hyde geworht and of ſeoles. Æghwilc gylt be hys gebyrdum. ſe byr-
" deſta ſceal gyldan fiftyne mearþes felt. and fif hranes. and an beran fel.
" and an otres fel. and berenne kyrtel oþþe ytterenne. and twegen ſcip-
" rapas. eahta fy ſyxtig elna lang. oþer fy of hwæles hyde geworht. oþer
" of ſioles.

" He ſæde þæt norþmanna land wære ſwyþe lang and ſwyþe ſmæl. Eal
" þæt his man aþer oþþe eatan oþþe erian mæg. þæt lið wiþ þa ſæ. and þæt is
" þeah on ſumum ſtowum ſwyþe cludig. and licgaþ wilde moras wiþ eaſtan.
" and wiþ upp on emnlange þæm bynum lande. On þæm morum eardiaþ
" Finnas. and þæt byne land is eaſte-weard bradoſt. and fymle ſwa norþor
" ſwa ſmælre. Eaſteweard hit mæg bion ſyxtig mila brad. oþþe hwene
" brædre. and midde-weard þritig oþþe bradre. and norþeweard he cwæþ
" (þær hit ſmaloſt wære) þæt hit mihte beon þreora mila brad to þæm more.
" and ſe mor ſyþþan on ſumum ſtowum ſwa brad ſwa man mæg on twam
" wucum oferferan. and on ſumum ſtowum ſwa brad ſwa man mæg on ſyx
" dagum oferferan. Donne is to emnes þæm lande ſuþweardum on oþer
" healfe þæs mores Sweoland. oþ þæt land norþweard. and to emnes þæm

[k] I conceive this ſhould be ſyxa. *D. B. Nihil neceſſe.* See the tranſlation. *J. I.*

[k] þilbeopum *muſt be here uſed as a contraction for* þilbeopum, *or wild deer.* D. B. There is no neceſſity, I think, for this forced contraction, of which there is no ſimilar example. It refers to æhrum above. See the Engliſh tranſlation. *J. I.*

" land

" land northweardum Cwenas landa. Da Cwenas hergiaþ hwilum on þa ofer-
" mera ofer hona mor. hwilum þa northmen on hy. and þær bið twyfe
" micle meras fram sce gtond þa mora. and beraþ þa Cwenas hyra scypo ofer
" land on þa meras. and þonan hergiaþ on þa northmen. hy habbaþ þeyþe
" lytle scypa. and swiþe leohte.

" Oht-here sæde þæt he sum scir ealne Hæligland þe he on bude. He cwæþ
" þæt nan man ne bude be norþan him. Elcnæs is an port on suþweardum
" þæm lande. þonne man hæt Sciringes heal. þyder he cwæþ þæt man ne
" mihte gesceglian on anum monþe. gyf man on niht wicode. and eces dæg
" hæfde ambyrne wind. and ealle þa hwile he sceal seglian be lande. and on
" þæt steor-bord him biþ aerest Ira-land. and þonne þa iglanda þe þysd be-
" twux Ira-lande and þissum lande. þonne is þæt land. oþ he cymeþ to Scirin-
" ges heale. and ealne weg on þæt bæc-bord Norþwege. hi sulpas þone Sci-
" ringes heal fyliþ swiþe micel sæ up in on þæt land. seo is breader þonne
"ænig man oferseon mæge. (and is Getland on oþre healfe ongean. and
" siþþa Sillende.) seo sæ lið. mænig hund mila up in on þæt land. And of
" Sciringes heale he cwæþ. þæt he seglode on siſ dagan to þæm porte þe
" mon hæt æt Hæþum. se stent betwuh Winedum and Seaxum and
" Angle. and hyrþ in on Dene.

" Da he þiderweard seglode fram Sciringes heale. þa wæs him on bæc-
" bord Dena-mearc. and on þæt steor-bord wid sæ. þry dagas. And þa
" twegen dagas ær he to Hæþum come him wæs on þæt steor-bord Got-
" land. and Sillende. and iglanda fela. on þæm landum eardodon Engle ær
" hi hider on land comon. and him wæs þa twegen dagas on þæt bæc-bord
" þa igland þe in Dene-mearce hyrþ.

" Wulfstan sæde þæt he gefore of Hæþum. þæt he wære on Truso on
" syfan dagum and nihtum. þæt þæt scyp wæs ealne weg yrnende under
" segle. Weonodland him wæs on steor-bord. and on bæc-bord him wæs
" Langaland and Læland and Falster and Scón-eg. and þas land eall yraþ
" to Dene-mearcan. and þonne Burgenda land wæs us on bæc-bord. and

[1] I suspect this should be pacebo, or *watched*. D. B.

[m] Many words in Saxon were the same both in the singular and plural number; as even to this day *two mile, two pound*, &c. are vulgar expressions for *two miles, two pounds*, &c. *J. I.*

" þa

" þa hubbap hiin fylf cyninge. Donne sefan Hungenda lande wæron ða þas
" land þa fyml hatene ærest Blecinga eg[n] and Mære. and Eowland and
" Gotland on bæc-bord and þa land cyrpe to Swéon. and Weonodlande
" hwæt ða ealne weg on steorbord oþ Wisle mupan. Seo Wisle is swyþe
" mycel ea. and hio to liþ Witland and Weonodland. and þæt Witland
" belimpeþ to Eástum. and seo Wisle liþ ut of Weonodlande. and þanon
" Eástmere and se Eástmere is hwæt fiftyne mila brad. Donne cymeþ Ilfing
" eall an in Eástmere of þam mere þe Truso standeþ in stape. and þanon ut
" of þam mere on Ilfingmupan of Eastlande and Wisle supan of Winod
" landa. and þonne berineþ Wisle Ilfing hire naman. and ligeþ of þam mere
" norþ and nopþ on ea. suþy hit nemn hæt Wisle mupan. Dæt Eastland is
" swyþe micel. and þær biþ swyþe manig burh. and on ælcere burig biþ ge-
" wealda. and þær biþ swyþe micel hunig and fiscap. and se cyning and þa ri-
" htan hlaford agan mara meolc. and þa unspedigan and þa þeowan
" drincaþ medo. Deer biþ swyþe mycel gewinn betweonan him and ne
" biþ þær nanig sibb gebrowen mid Eástum. ac þær biþ mycel gewinn. and "
" and þæt is mid Eástum þæw. þonne þæt bið mid deadne þæt he lið inne
" unforbærned mid his magum and freondum monaþ. gehwilum twegen.
" and þa kyninges and þa ore heah-þungene men fon swiðe lange hi
" eardian spæda hubbaþ. hwilum healf gear þæt hi beop unforbærned. and
" liegeþ bufan eorþan on hyra hufum. and ealle þa hwile þe people bifigne
" þær feal deorn gedrync and plega oþ þone dæg þa hi hine forbærnaþ.
" Donne þy ilcan dæg hi hine to þæm áde beran myllaþ þonne sindon hi
" ane seofe. þæt þær to lafe biþ after þæm gedrince and þam plegan. on fif
" oþþe syx. (hwilum on ma) swa swa þær feos and eh lip. Aleggaþ hi
" þonne for hwæga on anre mile þone mæstan dæl fram þæm tune. þonne
" oþerne. þonne þone þriddan oþ þe hyt eall aled biþ on þære anre mile. and
" sceal beon se læsta dæl nyhst þæm tune þe se deada on lip.

[n] Eg must be here used as a contraction for egelande, *an island*, or, as it is more commonly written, igland. *D. B.* I suspect this to be merely the concluding syllable of Blecinga-eg, now Blekingen, as we find Sco'n-eg for Schonen, Scania, or Scandinavia. *J. I.*

[o] "*Mare's* milk;" the word mypan is not translated by Mr. Barrington; for what reason, I know not; it is certainly the most important word in the sentence, as it conveys to us the intelligence of a curious fact. See this translation, *in notis*. *J. I.*

" Donne

" Donne sceolon beon gesamnode ealle þa men þe swyftoste hors habbað
" on þam lande for hwega tu fif milum oþþa on syx milum sum þæt sio.
" Elcum cwiað hy ealle tosomne þonne sea þonne cymð þe man to him
" swyðe hors habað to þam awestan dæl middes þæres mædwe and swa mid
" eallum hiora hiwum oþ hit bið all gehwanen and se cyning þonne hafað
" nyh þriwa mare þæt feoh gesomnad. and þonne nimð mid his megenmiclum
" fole and hyt motan habban ealle and forþon þæt hiora hors mage
" foge dyden. And þonne his geficcon bedp þan eall aspended þonne hyrp
" man hine ut. and forbærned mid his wæpnum and hrægle and fmiþ
" ealle þry speda hy forspendað mid þan langan degerime þæs dæles winnes
" inne. and þæs þe hy be þæm wæpnum slegað. þe þa freondan tosomne and
" nimað. And þæt is mid Estum þeaw. þeh þe hiora ænig gedeadad man
" beon forbærned. and gyf þan man an hiora findeð unforbærnedne hi hiora sino-
" lan micelum gelætan. And þæs is mid Estum an merga þæt hiora magas
" cyle gesyngian and þy þan lengra þe deadan men swa lengo unbyrgede
" þæt hi wyrðað þonne cyle þinre an and þeah man ælcne twegen freonda fell
" ealað. oþþe wæteres hungrað þæt eher bið afrosen. þan hit sy sumor.
" þan winter."

Nu wille we secgan be suþan Donua þære ea ymb Creca land. þe lið wyþ eastan Constantinopolim (Greca byrig) is se sæ Propontis. and be norþan Constantinopolim (Greca byrig) scyt se sæ earm up of þæm sæ þe man hæt Euxinus. and be westan norþan þære byrig Donua. þa þære ea scyt suþ east ut on þone sæ Euxinus. and on suþ healfe and on westhealfe þæs muþan syndon Moesi Creca leode. and be westan þære byrig syndon Traci. and be eastan þære byrig syndon Macedonie. and be suþan þære byrig. on suþhealfe þæs sæs earmes þe man hæt Egeum. syndon Athena. and Corinthus þa land. and be westan suþan Corinthon is Achaie þæt land. æt þæm Wendel sæ. Das land syndon Creca leode. And be westan Achaie. andlang þæs Wendel sæs. is Dalmatia þæt land on norþhealfe þæs sæs. and be norþan Dalmatia syndon Pulgare. and Istria. and be suþan Istria is se Wendel sæ þe man hæt Adriaticum. and be westan þa beorgas þe man hæt Alpis. and be norþan þæt westen þæt is betwux Carendran and Fulgarum.

Donne is Italia land west norþ lang. and east suþ lang. and hit belið Wendel sæ ymb eall utan buton westan norþan. æt þæm ende hit belicgað þa be-

ongas þe man hæt Alpis. þa ongynnaþ weſtan fram þæm Wendel ſæ in Narbonenſe þære þeode. and endiaþ eft eaſt in Dalmatia þæm lande æt þæm ſæ. Da land þe man hæt Gallia Belgica. be eaſtan þæm is ſio ea þe man hæt Rin. and be ſuþan þa beorgas þe man hæt Alpis. and be weſtan ſuþan ſe garſecg þe man hæt Brittannica. and be norþan on oþre healfe þæs garſecges earm is Brittannia. Dæt land be weſtan Ligore is Æquitania land. and be ſuþan Æquitania is þæs landes ſum dæl Narbonenſe. and be weſtan ſuþan Iſpania land. and be weſtan garſecg be ſuþan Narbonenſe is ſe Wendel ſæ. þær þær Rodan ſeo ea ut ſcyt. and be eaſtan him Profent-ſæ. and be weſtan him Profent-ſæ ofer þa weſtenu ſeo us nearre Iſpania. and be weſtan him and be norþan Equitania. and Waſcan be norþan:. Profent-ſæ hæfþ be norþan hyre þa beorgas þe man Alpis hæt. and be ſuþan hyre is Wendel ſæ. and be norþan hyre and eaſtan ſynd Burgendè. and Waſcan be weſtan:. Iſpania land is þry-ſcyte. and eall mid fleotę utan ymbhæfd. (ge eac binnan ymbhæfd ofer þa land.) ægþer ge of þæm garſecge ge of þam Wendel ſæ:. An þara garena [p] lið ſuþweſt ongean þæt igland þe Gades hatte. and oþer eaſt ongean þæt land Narbonenſe. and ſe þridda norþweſt ongean Brigantia Gallia burh:. And ongean Scotland. ofer þone ſæs earm. on geryhte ongean þæne muþan þe mon hæt Scene [q]. ſeo us fyrre Iſpania hyre is be weſtan garſecg. and be norþan Wendel ſæ be ſuþan and be eaſtan ſeo us nearre Iſpania. be norþan þære ſynt Equitania. and be norþan eaſtan is ſe weald Pyrenei. and be eaſtan Narbonenſe. and be ſuþan Wendel ſæ:.

Brittannia þæt igland. hit is norþ eaſt lang. and hit is eahta hund mila

[p] An þara garena, i. e. one of the *gars*, wards, promontories, (ἄκρα,) or angular boundaries, &c. Mr. Barrington improperly prints ȝ, the abbreviation of *and*; in conſequence of which the *genitive caſe precedes the verb!* The word ȝar in this paſſage may ſerve to lead us to the etymology of *Trafal-gar*, þry-falð-ȝar, Sax. a triple promontory or point of land, immortalized by the triumphs of Nelſon and the Britiſh Navy! *J. I.*

[q] Now the mouth of the *Shannon*; written by Cellarius, *Schennon*, who refers to this very paſſage of Oroſius; *Scena*, & *Senus*, Lat. *J. I.*

[r] This deſcription of the iſland of Great Britain, tranſlated from Oroſius, may be compared with the following, tranſlated from Venerable Bede by the ſame royal Paraphraſt: "BREOTON is garſecges Ealond þæt wæs iugeara ALBION haten. is geſeted betwyh "norþdæle and weſtdæle Germanie and Gallie and Hiſpanie. þam mæſtum dælum Europe "mycele fæce ongegen. þæt is Norþ ehta hund mila lang and twa hund mila brad. hit haſaþ

"fram

lang, and twa hund mila brad. þonne is be suþan him on oþre healfe þæs sæs earmes Gallia Belgica. and on west healfe on oþre healfe þæs sæs earmes is Ibernia þæt igland. and on norþ healfe Orcadus þæt igland:. Ighernia. þæt we Scotland hataþ. hit is on ælce healfe ymbfangen mid garseege. and forþon þe sio sunne þær gæþ nea'r on setl þonne on oþrum lande þær syndon lyþran wedera þonne on Brettannia [s]:. Donne be westan norþan Ibernia is þæt ytemeste land [t] þæt man hæt Thila, and hit is feawum mannum cuþ for þære ofer fyrre:.

Nu hæbbe we gesæd ymbe eall Europe land-gemæro. hu hi toliegaþ:.

"fram Suþdæle þa mægþe ongean þe mon hataþ Gallia Belgica, &c." The whole description must be interesting to every Englishman. Vide lib. i. cap. 1. *J. I.*

[s] This reason for the weather in Ireland being more mild than it is in Britain, is added by the royal Translator, who at the same time leaves out what Orosius mentions with regard to the Isle of Man: "Huic" (sc. Hiberniæ) "etiam Menavia insula proxima est, et ipsa spatio "non parva, solo commoda, atque a Scotorum gentibus habitatur." Oros. lib. i. c. 2. *D. B.*

[t] The classical reader will here recognize the "Ultima Thule" of Virgil, &c. and he will agree with Orosius and his royal Translator, that it could not have been much known in their times, when he finds an annotator on Juvenal (Sat. lib. xv. ver. 112.) doubting whether by Thule we are to understand *Norway*, or the *isle* of *Schetland*, i. e. the *Shetland isles*. This uncertainty, however, is pardonable in Lubinus; but that Professor Heyne should write the following note, is surprizing: "Thulen ad nostras insulas Shetlandicas a septentrione Bri-"tannæ objectas referendas esse, *nunc satis constat*." (Virg. Georg. I. 3.) Those who attentively examine the situation of the Shetland isles will say, perhaps, *non constat*. Even *Norway*, which was ignorantly supposed by the ancients to be an *island*, is much more likely to be the *ultima Thule* than the Shetland isles. But the fact is, *Island* was discovered more than *three centuries* before the Christian æra, by Pytheas of Marseilles; and though the Greeks and Romans knew but little about it, as may be seen in the works of Strabo, Polybius, Plutarch, Pliny, Procopius, &c. &c. yet it was well known to the Norwegians, and those *few* nations to which the Royal Geographer alludes, at a very early period. The situation of Island, *west* by *north* of Ireland, as it is accurately described by King Alfred, appears to decide this long-disputed question in geography. Norway was easily confounded with Island by the Greeks and Romans, because some part of it lies in the same latitude, and they all imagined it to be an island! I intend, on some future occasion, to illustrate the geography of the ancients, as far as it relates to the northern parts of Europe. *J. I.*

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DIRECTIONS FOR THE PRONUNCIATION.

WHEN the Saxon language is properly pronounced, it is by no means deficient in harmony, though its peculiar characteriſtics are ſtrength and ſignificance of expreſſion, together with a facility and felicity of combination, which are exceeded only by the copiouſneſs of the Greek. In the pronunciation of c and ȝ, the Saxons, long before the Norman conqueſt, appear to have nearly coincided with the Italians, either from their religious intercourſe with the ſee of Rome, or from that natural propenſity which all nations have to ſoften their language in the progreſs of refinement. Thus our modern *ch* was anciently expreſſed by *c* only, as in the word ceoſen, *choſen*, Ceſter, *Cheſter*, &c. *ſc* had the ſound of *ſh*, the German *ſch*, &c. as in the word ſcip, a *ſhip*, ſiſcetas, *fiſhermen*, &c. ȝ, the origin of the z which we find in Scoto-Saxon and old Engliſh MSS. was pronounced like *y* in many inſtances, particularly before the vowel *e*; ſometimes even before *a*, *u*, &c. as in dagas, dagum, *days*, &c. hence the origin of *yate* for *gate*, ſtill uſed in Glouceſterſhire. Land-gemære, geſeglian, manega, ælcere, agnum hame, fugleran, fugeleras, &c. if pronounced according to the Italian manner, will be found not unharmonious. The difficulty conſiſts in knowing when theſe doubtful conſonants are to be pronounced hard and when ſoft; for this very purpoſe, the Daniſh *k* was early introduced, and *c* was often inſerted before ȝ, or a double cc or double ȝȝ was adopted, which produced the hard c and ȝ; thus kyningce for cyninge, kyrtel for cyrtel, ſticce-mælum, (*ſtick-meal*,) &c. were uſed as early as the time of Alfred, if we have the original MS. of his tranſlation of Oroſius, which is the belief of moſt antiquaries. The Normans preferred the ſoft ſounds of theſe letters; hence *michel* (or *mitchel*) for *mickle*; *bridge*, for *brigg*, &c. The final *e* was ſeldom quieſcent, and generally pronounced as by the Italians to this day; hence *Beme* is found written for *Be'mæ*, or *Bohemi*, the *Bohemians*; *Dene* is the ſame with *Dani*, the *Danes*. Contractions were common; thus, n'yſte for *ne wiſt*; n'æſde, for *ne hæfed*, *had not*; yrn'þ, for yrneþ, *runneth*, &c.

THE

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THE GEOGRAPHY OF EUROPE;

EXTRACTED

FROM KING ALFRED'S

ANGLO-SAXON VERSION OF OROSIUS.

INCLUDING

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THE

GEOGRAPHY OF EUROPE

BY

KING ALFRED, &c.

NOW will we deſcribe the geography of Europe; ſo far, at leaſt, as our knowledge of it extends. From the river Tanais, weſtward to the river Rine, (which takes its riſe from the Alps, and runs directly north thenceforward on to the arm of the Ocean that ſurrounds Bryttania,) then ſouthward to the river Danube, (whoſe ſource is near the river Rine, running afterwards in its courſe along the confines of Northern Greece, till it empties itſelf into the Mediterranean [a],) and northward even unto the ocean, which men call Cwen-ſea; within theſe boundaries are many nations; but the whole of this tract of country is called Germany.

Then to the north of the ſource of the Danube, and to the eaſt of the Rine, are the Eaſtern Franks [1] [b]; and to the ſouth of them are the Suabians [2]; on the oppoſite bank of the Danube, and to the ſouth and eaſt are the Bavarians [3], in that part which is called Regneſburh. Due eaſt from thence are the Bohemians [4], and to the north-eaſt [c] the Thyringians [5], to the

[a] In the Saxon, "the Wendel-ſea," which comprehended the whole of that *winding* or *wandering* ſea, which extended from the Euxine to the pillars of Hercules. *J. I.*

[b] This and the following figures refer to Mr. Forſter's notes, printed at the end of this tranſlation, which are too ingenious and learned to be conſigned to oblivion. *J. I.*

[c] Eaſt-north, in the Saxon, as I have before obſerved with regard to the ſouth-weſt, which in the Saxon is weſt-ſouth; a ſingle inſtance follows, however, where the point ſouth-weſt is mentioned, and not weſt-ſouth. *D. B.* Eaſt-north ſignifies north-eaſt by *north*. J. I.

north

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north of theſe are the Old SAXONS [c], to the north-weſt are the Frieſlanders [7], and to the weſt of the Old Saxons is the mouth of the Elbe, as alſo Frieſland. Hence to the weſt-north [d] is that land which is called Angle-land [8], Sealand, and ſome part of Den-marc; to the north is Apdredè [9], and to the eaſt-north the wolds [e] which are called the Heath-wolds [10]. Hence eaſtward is the ſand of the Veneti [11], (who are alſo called Sileſæ,) extending ſouth-weſt over a great part of the territory of the Moravians. Theſe Moravians [12] have to the weſt the Thyringians and Bohemians, as alſo part of Bavaria, and to the ſouth, on the other ſide of the Danube, is the country of the Carinthians [13], lying ſouthward even to the Alps. To the ſame mountains alſo extend the boundaries of the Bavarians and the Suabians. Thence to the eaſtward of Carinthia, beyond the waſte, is the land of the Bulgarians [14]. To the eaſt of them is the land of the Greeks [15]; and to the eaſt of Moravia is Wiſle-land [16]; to the eaſt of that are the Dacæ [17], who were originally a tribe of Goths. To the north-eaſt of the Moravians are the Dalamenſæ [18]; eaſt of the Dalamenſians are the Horithi, and north of the Dalamenſians are the Servians [19]; to the weſt alſo are the Sileſians [20]. To the north of the Horiti [21] is Mazovia, and north of Mazovia [22] are the Sarmatians [23] quite to the Riphæan mountains. To the weſt of the Southern Danes is the arm of the ocean that ſurrounds Britannia, and to the north of them is the arm of the ſea called Oſt-ſea; to the eaſt and to the north of them are the Northern Danes [24], both on the continent and on the iſlands; to the eaſt of them are the Aſdredè; and to the ſouth is the mouth of the Elb, with ſome part of Old Saxony. The Northern Danes have to the north of them the ſame arm of the ſea called Oſt ſea [25]; to the eaſt of them is the nation of the Eſtonians [26], and the Aſdredè to the ſouth. The Eſtonians have to the north of them the ſame arm of the ſea, and alſo the Winedæ and Burgundæ [27], and to the ſouth are the Heath-wolds. The Burgundians have the ſame arm of the ſea to the weſt of them, and the Sweons [28] to the north; to the eaſt of them are the Sarmatians, and to the ſouth the Servians. The Sweons have to the ſouth of them the ſame arm

[d] This ſhould be north-eaſt. *D. B.* If by *weſt-north* we underſtand *north-weſt* by *north*, we ſhall ſee no occaſion to alter the expreſſion in the text. *J. I.*

[e] Wylte. *D. B.* See a note on this word hereafter. *J. I.*

of

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of the ſea called Oſt-ſea: to the eaſt of them the Sarmatians; and to the north, over the waſtes, is Cwenland: to the weſt-north of them are the Scride-Finnas[29] [f], and to the weſt the Northmen.

"Ohthere told his lord, king Alfred, that he lived to the north of "all the Northmen [g]. He ſays, that he dwelt on the main-land to the "northward, by the weſt ſea; [h] that the land, however, extends to a very "great length thence onward to the north: but it is all waſte, except in a "few places, where the Finlanders occaſionally reſort, for hunting in the "winter, and in the ſummer for fiſhing along the ſea-coaſt. He ſaid, that "he was determined to find out, on a certain time, *how far this country ex-* "*tended northward, or whether any one lived to the north of the waſte.* "With this intent he proceeded northward along the coaſt; leaving all "the way the waſte-land on the ſtarboard, and the wide ſea on the back-"board [k] for three days. He was then as far north as the whale-hunters "ever go. He then continued his voyage, ſteering yet northward, as far as "he could ſail within three other days. Then the land began to take a

[f] Hakluyt terms the country Scrick-Finnia; and Richard Johnſon, in his account of Nova Zembla, ſays, "That E. S. E. from the caſtle of Wardhus are the Scrick-Finnes, who "are a wild people, which neither know God nor good order; and theſe people live in tents "made of deer-ſkins, and they have no certain habitations, but continually harde and com-"panies by one hundred and two hundreds." Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 283. *D. B.* Vid. hic. pit. *J. I.*

[g] It may be imagined by a faſtidious critic, that this expreſſion is incorrect. Herodotus found fault with the term *Hyperboreans*; as if, ſays he, there could be any people *above* or *beyond* the North! The obſervation, however, is perhaps *hypercritical*. In the preſent inſtance, the Saxon expreſſion of King Alfred is much more elegant and correct than that of his modern tranſlator: literally; "That he of all the northern men the northernmoſt abide." *J. I.*

[h] The word *lang*, well denoting the extreme *length* of Norway, is omitted in Mr. Barrington's edition, as well as in the Oxford edition of 1678, though it is there properly tranſlated, "dixit terram illam occidentalem *longe* verſus Aquilonem eſſe *porrectam*." Mr. Barrington, however, tranſlates the paſſage with abundance of confuſion and contradiction: "the land of "*the Northmen* is *due north* from *that ſea*." In which ſhort ſentence there are *three* miſtakes: a proof of the importance of a ſingle word, and that an adjective and a monoſyllable! *J. I.*

[i] "þa for he norþrihte be þæm lande," which is not fully tranſlated; "atque *ea propter* ſe "recta verſus ſeptentrionem eſſe profectum." See the Oxford edition, by the Scholars of Univerſity College. *D. B.* See alſo the notes of the ingenious Mr. Forſter, ſub initium. *J. I.*

[k] Or to the left. *D. B.* The *lar-board*, according to the preſent nautical phraſe. *J. I.*

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" turn[l] to the eaſtward, even unto the inland ſea, but he knows not how " much farther[m]. He remembers, however, that he ſtayed there waiting " for a weſtern wind, or a point to the north, and ſailed thence eaſtward by " the land, as far as he could in four days. Then he was obliged to wait " for a due north wind, becauſe the land there began to run ſouthward, quite " to the inland ſea, he knows not how far[n]. He ſailed thence along the " coaſt ſouthward, as far as he could in five days. There lay then a great " river[o] a long way up in the land, into the mouth of which they entered[p], " becauſe they durſt not proceed beyond the river from an apprehen- " ſion of hoſtilities[q]; for the land was all inhabited on the other ſide of " the river. Ohthere, however, had not met with any inhabited land be- " fore this, ſince he firſt ſet out from his own home. All the land to his " right, during his whole voyage, was uncultivated, and without inhabit- " ants, except a few fiſhermen, fowlers, and hunters[r]; all of whom were " Finlanders; and he had nothing but the wide ſea on his left all the way. " The Biarmians, indeed, had well cultivated their land; though Ohthere " and his crew durſt not enter upon it; but the land of the Torne-Finnas[s]

[l] beah, Sax. the preterit of be'an, or bygan, to *bend*. See the original, & not. in loc. *J. I.*

[m] The words in the original are, " oþþe ſio ſæ in on þæt land he nyſte hwæþer," which in the Latin tranſlation run, " Neſcire autem ſe num infra terram illam *ſit* mare;" but the objection to this tranſlation is, that there is no word in the Saxon to be rendered *ſit*. *D. B.* The greateſt objection is, that the word hwæþer has been miſunderſtood, which in this place ſignifies *whither*, or *how far*, *quouſque*; not *whether*, *utrum*, *necne*; *num*, &c. Mr. Barrington's tranſlation is therefore right in the preſent inſtance. This *inland* ſea is the Cwen-ſea. *J. I.*

[n] By this the land and inland ſea before mentioned are plainly alluded to. *D. B.*

[o] The river Dwina, near Archangel; ſee the notes at the end of this tranſlation. *J. I.*

[p] I muſt here object again to the Latin tranſlation of the following words, " þa cyrdon hy " up in on þa ea," viz. " ad ejus oſtia ſe ſubſtitiſſe," which is by no means the ſenſe of the paſſage. *D. B.* *They turned in upon the river*, without landing on the coaſt. *J. I.*

[q] " Metu incolarum," Lat. tranſl. " for unfriþe," Sax. i. e. for want of *free* paſſport, or permiſſion. They therefore converſed with the natives from the ſhip. *J. I.*

[r] Ohthere had before explained this reſort to have been only occaſional. *D. B.*

[s] Mr. Lye, in his Saxon Dictionary, refers to this word, and renders it *Tartari!* D. B. Our Saxon and Engliſh *word-books* are too frequently but blind guides. *J. I.*

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"was all waſte [t], and it was only occaſionally inhabited by hunters, and "fiſhermen, and fowlers.

"The Biarmians [10] told him many ſtories, both about their own land [u] "and about the other countries around them; but Ohthere knew not how "much truth there was in them, becauſe he had not an opportunity of ſee-"ing with his own eyes. It ſeemed however to him, that the Finlanders "and the Biarmians ſpoke nearly the ſame language. The principal object "of his voyage, indeed, was already gained; which was, TO INCREASE "THE DISCOVERY OF THE LAND [x]; and on account of the horſe-whales, "becauſe they have very beautiful bone in their teeth [y], ſome of which they

[t] Tornea-Lapmark and Finmark, both which perhaps are to be underſtood by the *Land of the Terfinnas*, are very little cultivated to this day. Between the Bothnic gulf and the ſea are immenſe foreſts, which if cleared might very much improve the climate of thoſe northern regions, and open a new field for the induſtry of man. *J. I.*

[u] It muſt be owned, that this rather contradicts what is mentioned in the preceding period. *D. B.* This apparent contradiction ariſes from the obſcurity of the original, which I think may be removed by a little attention. See note *q* in the preceding page. *J. I.*

[x] Hence we may conclude, that it was but little known at that time. The original words in the Saxon are, "Swiþoſt he for þider to ecan þæs landes ſceawunge;" the laſt word (*ſhewing*) being miſtaken, and printed ſceapunge, (*ſhaping*,) from the ſimilarity of the Saxon *þ* to p, Mr. Barrington has erroneouſly tranſlated the paſſage thus: "He went the rather, and "*ſhaped* his courſe to *each* of theſe countries, on account of the horſe-whales," &c. as if he had made only a *cuſtomary* voyage to Finland and Biarmia! The verb eacan alſo, which ſignifies to *eke*, or *increaſe*, ſeems to have been confounded with the modern pronoun *each*, which however in Saxon is ælc, elc, &c. It is moreover remarkable, that the words are not tranſlated at all in the Latin verſion of Sir John Spelman: "Ipſum vero has regiones præci-"pue adiiſſe, *capiendorum Hippopotomorum gratia*," &c! Yet the paſſage appears too eaſy and obvious to be miſunderſtood, and at the ſame time ſo important, that it might well ſerve as a motto to every voyage of diſcovery, every active and public-ſpirited enterprize, undertaken to *ſhew* to mankind more clearly and completely the knowledge of diſtant lands! In this point of view the Periplus of OHTHERE becomes important, and we may conſider him, perhaps, AS THE FIRST NAVIGATOR THAT SAILED ROUND THE NORTH CAPE, of which the ancients knew nothing! Yet, though the hiſtory of his diſcoveries has been dignified and immortalized by the pen of ALFRED, his glory has been hitherto diminiſhed by the inattention of Engliſhmen to the treaſures that are concealed in their ancient language! *J. I.*

[y] It is ſaid that one of theſe teeth, in the 16th century, ſold for a ruble. Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 280. *D. B.* They *held* it at a ruble, as a common price. Vid. loc. cit. *J. I.*

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" brought to the King[z]; and their hides are good for ſhip-ropes. This " ſort of whale is much leſs than the other kinds; it is not longer, com- " monly, than ſeven ells: but in his own country (Ohthere ſays) is the " beſt whale-hunting; there the whales are eight and forty ells long, and " the largeſt[a] fifty; of theſe, he ſaid, he once killed (ſix in company) ſix- " ty[b] in two days. He was a very rich man in the poſſeſſion of thoſe ani- " mals in which their principal wealth conſiſts, namely, ſuch as are naturally " wild. He had then, when he came to ſeek King Alfred[c], ſix hundred " deer, all tamed by himſelf, and not purchaſed. They call them rein-deer. " Of theſe ſix were ſtall-reins, or decoy-deer[d], which are very valuable " amongſt the Finlanders, becauſe they catch the wild-deer with them.

[z] Sc. Ælfred. *D. B.* See note *c* hereafter. *J. I.* From this circumſtance it hath been inferred, that Ohthere was ſent by this king on this diſcovery, which however is by no means concluſive; for every traveller, in relating his voyage, ſhews the product of the countries he hath viſited. Richard Chancelor, ſpeaking of the commodities of Ruſſia, ſays, " There are alſo a fiſhes teeth, which fiſh is called a *Morſſe*." Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 237. fol. 1598. *D. B.* See alſo pp. 280, 493, &c. &c. of the ſame vol. with the notes hereafter. *J. I.*

[a] Mæſtan, very improperly rendered in the Latin tranſlation *nonnullæ*. D. B.

[b] I conceive that ſyxa ſhould be a ſecond time repeated here, inſtead of ſyxtig, or ſixty; it would then only be aſſerted, that *ſix* had been taken in two days, which is much more probable than ſixty. *D. B.* The tranſlator of the Periplus in *Hakluyt* underſtands the paſſage as implying, that *ſix men together* ſlew ſixty in two days. This ſenſe, which is eaſy and obvious, removes the difficulty; I have therefore adopted it in the preſent tranſlation. *J. I.*

[c] This ſhews that Ohthere was a man of conſiderable ſubſtance when he left his own country to come to England; and there is not the leaſt alluſion to his having been ſent to the northward by Ælfred, as this voyage ſeems to have happened long before he was known to that king. *D. B.* I have inſerted the name of Alfred in the tranſlation, though the modeſt omiſſion of it in the original, both here and in a former inſtance, is no inconſiderable proof, among many others, that this is the genuine work of that incomparable monarch, and that Ohthere's enterpriſe alſo originated in his own mind. " Ða he þone cyninge ſohte," " when he the King ſought," are the words of the original. See a former paſſage of this Periplus; " þa teþ hy broton ſume to þæm cyninge: ſome of theſe teeth they brought to the " King;" & not. in loc. The name of Alfred is mentioned but once. Vid. p. 60. *J. I.*

[d] The Saxon word is ſtæl-hranas; and we apply, even to this day, the word *ſtale* to a dead bird, which is placed on a tree in a living attitude, ſurrounded with lime-twigs, in order to entice the wild ones. *D. B.* The reader muſt weigh this note with caution, leſt he ſhould ſuppoſe the rein-deer above mentioned were *dead*, *ſtale*, and *putrid*, with which the Finlanders caught

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" Ohthere himſelf was amongſt the firſt men in the land, though he " had not more than twenty rother-beaſts [e]; twenty ſheep, and twenty " ſwine; and what little he ploughed, he ploughed with horſes. The an- " nual revenue of theſe people conſiſts chiefly in a certain tribute which the " Finlanders yield them [f]. This tribute is derived from the ſkins of ani- " mals, feathers of various birds, whale-bone, and ſhip-ropes, which are " made of whales hides and of ſeals. Every one pays according to his ſub- " ſtance; the wealthieſt man amongſt them pays only the ſkins of fifteen " marterns, five rein-deer ſkins, one bear's ſkin, ten buſhels of feathers, a " cloak of bear's or otter's ſkin, two ſhip-ropes, (each ſixty ells long,) one " made of whale's, and the other of ſeal's ſkin.

" Ohthere moreover ſaid, that the land of the Northmen was very long " and very narrow; all that is fit either for paſture or plowing lies along " the ſea-coaſt, which however is in ſome parts very cloddy; along the " eaſtern ſide are wild moors, extending a long way up parallel to the culti- " vated land. The Finlanders inhabit theſe moors; and the cultivated land " is broadeſt to the eaſtward; and, altogether, the more northward it lies,

caught the wild-deer. The word denotes thoſe rein-deer that were kept in *ſtalls*, or, trained for the purpoſes of deer-*ſtealing*. Vid. Ol. Magn. lib. xvii. cap. 28. et *ſeqq.* *J. I.*

[e] i. e. *red* cattle, as oppoſed to *black* cattle; I have retained this word, becauſe it is ſtill in uſe in many counties—particularly where the modern ſyſtem of *ſeverality* and *incloſure* has not ſuperſeded the old practice of *common paſturage*. The ſubſequent obſervation, which King Alfred makes with ſome degree of aſtoniſhment, that the little land which Ohthere ploughed *he ploughed with* HORSES, is a very curious and ſtriking proof of the preference given to OXEN in this country, even in the NINTH CENTURY! Is there any thing *new* then in the ſuggeſtions of modern agriculturiſts in favour of this preference? I remember only one paſſage of antiquity, in which the uſe of *horſes* inſtead of *oxen* is at all countenanced. It is in that beautiful chorus in the Antigone of Sophocles, in which he deſcribes the wonderful operations of MAN! Among the reſt he is ſaid to ſubdue the earth, ἱππειῳ γενει πωλευων, (ver. 349.) which the Scholiaſt, however, explains by ἡμιονοις, *mules*; as if he could not ſuppoſe Sophocles to be ſo bad an agriculturiſt as to recommend the noble race of horſes, when mules or oxen would anſwer the purpoſe better. Αἱ γαρ τε βοων προφερες-εραι εἰσιν, Ἑλκεμεναι νηιοι βαδειης τηκτον ἀροτρον. Hom. Τινες δε (ſays the Scholiaſt, as if recollecting an exception to a general cuſtom,) ΙΠΠΟΙΣ χρωνται εἰς ἀροτριασμον. Vid. Schol. in locum. *J. I.*

[f] This is now exacted from the Finlanders by Denmark, Sweden, and Ruſſia. See the intereſting account of the " Ambaſſage of Dr. Giles Fletcher, &c." in the year 1588. *J. I.*

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" the more narrow it is. Eaſtward it may perhaps be ſixty miles broad;
" in ſome places broader; about the middle, thirty miles, or ſomewhat
" more; and northward, Ohthere ſays, (where it is narroweſt) it may be
" only three miles acroſs from the ſea to the moors; which, however, are
" in ſome parts ſo wide, that a man could ſcarcely paſs over them in two
" weeks, though in other parts perhaps in ſix days [g]. Then parallel with
" this land ſouthward is Sweoland[h], on the other ſide of the moors, extend-
" ing quite to the northward[i]; and, running even with the northern part
" of it, is Cwenaland [31]. The Cwenas[k] ſometimes make incurſions againſt
" the Northmen over theſe moors, and ſometimes the Northmen on them;
" there are very large meres of freſh water beyond the moors, and the
" Cwenas carry their ſhips[l] over land into the meres, whence they make
" depredations on the Northmen; they have ſhips that are very ſmall and
" very light.

[g] Theſe very minute particulars ſeem plainly to be taken down by Ælfred, from Ohthere's own mouth, as he corrects himſelf moſt ſcrupulouſly, in order to inform the King with accuracy. *D. B.* This ſurvey of Ohthere is a curious remnant of Northern topography. *J. I.*

[h] Now *Swe-den*; as if the inhabitants were a mixture of Sweons and Denes, (or Danes;) unleſs *den* be thought to ſignify a retreat, refuge, or habitation. See more hereafter. *J. I.*

[i] i. e. Norþmanna-land, Ohthere's own country. *D. B.* From ſeveral particulars contained in this minute deſcription of North-manna-land, or the land of the Northmen, it is evident that Halgoland, the country of Ohthere, was a diſtinct territory, independent of what is now called Norway; and even to this day, Helgeland forms a ſeparate diſtrict, ſituated between Trondheim on the ſouth ſide, and the lands ſtill called Nordlands on the north. Mr. Barrington ſeems to have confounded it with Northmanna-land, which was a general term, comprehending both Norway and Helgoland; *the land of the Northmen.* *J. I.*

[k] Whether the Cwenas, or *Queens*, a word which in the original Cimbric and Iſlandic ſignifies *women* as well as *fair men*, were not in earlier times the ſame with the Scythian Amazons of Herodotus, may be worthy of conſideration. In the elegant language of Sweden the *fair* ſex are all without exception called *quin-folk* to this day, without any excluſive reſtriction of the word to *royalty*. The Samoyedes are deſcribed by Dr. Giles Fletcher, as " naturally " beardleſſe; and therefore the men are hardly diſcerned from the women by their lookes." Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 491. See the notes hereafter on the Cwen-ſea, &c. *J. I.*

[l] Theſe *ſhips* were probably the ſame with the ſmall boats called coracles, which are uſed both on the Towy and the Wye. They make them near Monmouth, not to weigh above 45lb. and they are eaſily therefore carried on a fiſherman's back over ſhallows. *D. B.*

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" Ohthere ſaid, that the ſhire[m] which he inhabited is called Halgoland[n]. " He ſays, that no human being abode in any fixed habitation to the *north* " of him[o]. There is a port to the *ſouth* of this land, which is called Sci- " ringes-heal[32]. Thither he ſaid that a man could not ſail in a month, if " *he watched in the night*[p], and every day had a fair wind; and all the " while he ſhall ſail along the coaſt; and on his right hand firſt is Is- " LAND[33] [q], and then the iſlands which are between Iſland and this land.

[m] That is, the *ſhare*, diviſion, or diſtrict, of Northmannaland, ſituated between Norway, properly ſo called, and Finmark, or Terfinnaland, as Ohthere calls the land beyond him. *J. I.*

[n] " The land was all full of little iſlands, and that innumerable, which were called Æge- " land and *Halgeland*, in lat. 66. deg. N." Hakluyt, vol. i. p. 235. where the following note is inſerted in the margin: " In this land dwelt Ochther, as it ſeemeth." *D. B.*

[o] It ſhould ſeem that this is to be underſtood as confined to Halgeland, as the port to the ſouth, which follows, *plainly* relates to the ſame province. *D. B.* This is *plainly* impoſſible; ſee the context, and the notes which follow hereafter. *J. I.*

[p] The word in the original is wicode, which is rendered " curſum ſiſtens;" but it properly ſignifies *to go back*, and not ſtop[a]. I cannot, therefore, but think that it ſhould be wacode[b], and the meaning would then be, that this port was diſtant a month's ſail, if the veſſel continued its courſe both by day and night. As for this port called Sciringes-heal, in order to find out what place is hereby intended, we ſhould ſuppoſe it to be pronounced *Shiringes*-heal; for *ſc*, followed by the vowels *i* and *e*, (and ſometimes by others,) ſeems always to have been pronounced by the Saxons as it is by the Italians in the word *Sciolto*, pronounced *Shiolto*[c]. Thus we pronounce ſcip *ſhip*, ſciell *ſhell*, ſcild *ſhield*, ſcina *ſhin*, ſcire *ſhire*, ſiſcas, *ſiſh*, &c. *D. B.* This accounts for the apparent diſſimilarity between Scytas, Sax. *Scots*, or *Scottiſh*men, which the Greeks wrote Σκυθαι, and the ſofter pronunciation of our preſent language in the verb *to ſhoot*, ſcytan, Sax. The ſecond age of mankind, according to Epiphanius, was Σκυθισμος, the age of *archery*. See alſo Herodotus. Hence it is, that ſo many parts of the globe are deſcribed by hiſtorians as being originally inhabited by *Scythians*. The Hippotoxotæ gave riſe to the fable of the Centaurs. Scotland and Shetland ſtill retain the Scythian name. *J. I.*

[q] I ſuſpect, that the true reading in the original, inſtead of Ira-land, (i. e. Scotland,) ſhould be Iſa-land, Iſeland, (or, as it is ſometimes improperly written, Iceland.) How frequently the Saxon letters ꝑ and ꝓ have been confounded and interchanged, is well known to every perſon converſant in the language. As Ohthere ſailed from Halgoland, Iſland was the

[a] There is no inſtance, I believe, of this ſignification. Lye improperly gives *recedere* with *vac*-illare. *J. I.*

[b] If ſo, many perſons will deny the connection between this word and the Latin " *vig*-ilare." In the old Saxon, vowels are as little to be depended upon as the Mazoretic points in Hebrew. *J. I.*

[c] And like the *ſch* of the Germans. See Directions for the Pronunciation, p. 68. *J. I.*

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"Then this land[r] continues quite to Sciringes-heal; and all the way on the "left is NORWAY. To the ſouth of Sciringes-heal a great ſea[s] runs up a "vaſt way into the country, and is ſo wide, that no man can ſee acroſs it. "(Jutland is oppoſite on the other ſide, and then Sealand.) This ſea lies "many hundred miles up into the land. Ohthere further ſays, that he "ſailed in five days from Sciringes-heal to that port which men call Et-"Hæthum[34], which ſtands between the Winedæ, the Saxons, and the An-"gles, and is ſubject to the Danes.

"When Ohthere ſailed to this place from Sciringes-heal, Denmark was "on his left, and on his right the wide ſea, for three days; and for the "two days before he came to Hæthum, on his right hand was Jutland, "Sealand, and many iſlands; ALL WHICH LANDS WERE INHABITED "BY THE ENGLISH, BEFORE THEY CAME HITHER[t]; and for theſe two "days the iſlands which are ſubject to Denmark were on his left[u]."

'WULFSTAN ſaid, that he went from Heathum to Truſo[35] in ſeven days 'and nights, and that the ſhip was running under ſail all the way. Weo-'nodland was on his right, and Langland, Læland, Falſter, and Sconey, on 'his left, all which land is ſubject to Denmark[36]. "Then on our left WE[x]

firſt land to his right, and then the iſlands of Faroe, Shetland, and Orkney, between Iſland and this land, (i. e. England;) then this land continued ſtill on his right hand, till he entered the Baltic, which he ſoon afterwards deſcribes very accurately, as running up many hundred miles into the land, and ſo wide that no man could ſee over it. Yet Mr. Barrington tranſlates, "the *ſea of Sillende* lies *many miles* up," &c! The two moſt difficult places to aſcertain in this Periplus are Sciringes-heal and At-hæthum. See the notes hereafter. *J. I.*

[r] i. e. England; for King Alfred muſt be ſuppoſed to be here ſpeaking. *J. I.*

[s] i. e. the Eaſt-ſea; the Baltic, or Beltic; including the Great and Little *Belts*, the Sound, Cattegat, Skager-rack, &c. together with the gulfs of Bothnia, Finland, and Livonia. *J. I.*

[u] Theſe were the iſlands of Moen, Falſter, Læland, Langland, &c. ſome of which are mentioned immediately after in the account of Wulfſtan's voyage. I truſt this part of Alfred's geography muſt be intereſting to every Engliſh reader, particularly from ſome recent operations, and from the preſent theatre of an eventful war! *J. I.*

[t] This clears up moſt deciſively the doubts in Camden's Preface, p. clviii. with regard to the ſituation of the Angles. *D. B.* The Danes afterwards took poſſeſſion of theſe lands. *J. I.*

[x] It ſeems very clear, from this expreſſion of *we*, that when King Alfred came to that part of the hiſtory of Oroſius, which deſcribes the geography of the North, he conſulted Ohthere and Wulfſtan, who had lived in the northern parts of Europe, which the ancients were ſo little

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" had the land of the Burgundians, who have a king to themſelves. Then, " after the land of the Burgundians, we had on our left the lands that have " been called from the earlieſt times Blekingey [37], and Meore [38], and Eow- " land [39], and Gotland [40]; all which territory is ſubject to the Sweons; and " Weonodland was all the way on our right, as far as Weiſſel-mouth [41] [y]. " The Weiſſel is a very large river, and near it lie Witland [z] and Weonod- " land. Witland belongs to the people of Eaſtland; and out of Weonod- " land flows the river Weiſſel, which empties itſelf afterwards into Eſt- " mere [42]. This lake, called Eſtmere, is about fifteen miles broad. Then " runs the Ilfing eaſt [of the Weiſſel] into Eſtmere, from that lake on the " banks of which ſtands Truſo. Theſe two rivers come out together into " Eſtmere; the Ilfing eaſt from Eaſtland, and the Weiſſel ſouth from " Weonodland [43]. Then the Weiſſel deprives the Ilfing of its name, and, " flowing from the weſt part of the lake, at length empties itſelf northward " into the ſea; whence this point is called the Weiſſel-mouth. This coun- " try called Eaſtland [a] is very extenſive, and there are in it many towns, " and in every town is a king. There is a great quantity of honey and " fiſh; and even the king and the richeſt men drink mare's milk [b], whilſt " the poor and the ſlaves drink mead. There is a vaſt deal of war and

little acquainted with, and that he took down this account from their own mouths. For the ſame reaſon, it is not improbable that there may be ſome miſtakes in the King's relation, as, though theſe northern travellers ſpoke a language bearing an affinity to the Anglo-Saxon, yet it was certainly a dialect with material variations. For proof of this, let a chapter of the *Speculum Regale*, written in the old Iſlandic or Norwegian, be compared with the Anglo-Saxon. This very curious work was publiſhed at Soroe, in 1768. *D. B.*

[y] I have adopted the modern name of this river, *Weiſſel*, in preference to the *Viſtula* of the ancient geographers, or the *Weſel* of Mr. Barrington; though perhaps King Alfred's orthography (*Wiſle*) is the beſt, as it approaches nearer to the Viſtula of the ancients, and the modern Wiſla of the Poles. Poland is alſo called Wiſle-land by King Alfred, p. 60. *J. I.*

[z] Mr. Barrington tranſlates it *Willand*, but he has printed *Witland* twice in the Saxon, as I find it in the MSS. It is now probably Witepſki in Lithuania, to the eaſt of Wilno. *J. I.*

[a] Now generally called Eſtonia; I have therefore called the inhabitants Eſtonians. *J. I.*

[b] See the ſame cuſtom reported of the Scythians by Herodotus, and of the Tartars and other rude nations by modern travellers; particularly in Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages, &c. Vol. I. p. 97. fol. Lond. 1598. Mr. Barrington ſeems to have overlooked the word myran in the original. Vid. not. in locum. " Lac equinum bibunt," Lat. Verſ. *J. I.*

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" contention [c] amongſt the different tribes of this nation. There is no ale " brewed amongſt the Eſtonians, but they have mead in profuſion [d].

" There is alſo this cuſtom with the Eſtonians [e], that when any one dies, " the corpſe continues *unburnt* with the relations and friends for at leaſt a " month; ſometimes two; and the bodies of kings and illuſtrious men, " according to their reſpective wealth, lie ſometimes even for half a year " before the corpſe is burned, and the body continues above ground in the " houſe; during which time drinking and ſports are prolonged, till the day " on which the body is conſumed [f]. Then, when it is carried to the fune-

[c] Gewinn, Sax. " Multum *vini* eſt etiam inter eos—" according to the Latin tranſlation; (Ælfredi Magni Vita, p. 208.) and, as the royal Geographer is here enumerating the *liquors* which the Eſtonians uſed, it appears at firſt ſight more natural that he ſhould mention *wine* than *war*. But the word *win* is generally uſed for *wine*, without the prefix *ge*; and perhaps the only *wine* of theſe people was *mead*; meddi, Br. μεθυ, Gr. The other fact, reſpecting the want of ale and the art of brewing, though it may appear trifling now, was conſidered remarkable and important enough to be noticed in the days of Alfred; and, indeed, ale or beer was afterwards a conſiderable article of commerce between the Flemings and the Eſtonians. See a Poem written in the reign of Henry the Sixth, *On the Policy of keeping the Sea*, c. 5. printed in Hakluyt, Vol. I. p. 192. Sigiſmund of Herberſtein ſays of the *Ruſſians* in his time: " Their common drinke is *mead*; the poorer ſort uſe water, and a third drinke called " *quaſſe*, which is nothing elſe (as we ſay) but water turned out of his wits, with a little " branne meaſhed with it." Hakluyt, Vol. I. p. 496. Cur moriatur homo cui *quaſſia?* J. I.

[d] Here Wulfſtan's voyage ends in Hakluyt. *D. B.* Vid. Voyages, &c. Vol. I. p. 6. ed. 1598. Somner printed the remainder of it in his Saxon Dictionary, except the laſt ſentence. Vid. voc. gedrync, Som. Dictionar. Sax. Lat. Angl. Ox. 1659. *J. I.*

[e] The following curious particulars, relating to the manners of the Eſtonians in the ninth century, the preſervation of which we owe to the diligent pen of King Alfred, form a valuable ſupplement to the ſhort ſketches of aboriginal manners delineated by Cæſar and Tacitus. They alſo tend to illuſtrate the hiſtory of ſome obſcure antiquities in our own iſland. Perhaps the veil of myſtery which has ſo long enveloped the remains of Stonehenge, Abury, &c. is here removed. See the notes hereafter, pp. 83, 87, and 88. *J. I.*

[f] This ceremony was ſo important among the Northern nations, that they regulated their chronology, not on the Newtonian ſyſtem of eclipſes, but by the *burning* of ſome particular hero or heroine. A perſon's age was alſo tolerably well aſcertained, not by parochial regiſters, but by his having been preſent at the *burning* of ſome great man. Queen Mary attempted to introduce a worſe chronology into this country *not many centuries ago*, attended with circumſtances of much greater atrocity, ignorance, and barbariſm. *J. I.*

" ral

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" ral pile, the ſubſtance of the deceaſed, which remains after theſe drinking " feſtivities and ſports, is divided into five or ſix heaps; ſometimes into " more; according to the proportion of what he happens to be worth. " Theſe heaps are ſo diſpoſed, that the largeſt heap ſhall be about one mile " from the town; and ſo gradually the ſmaller at leſſer intervals, till all the " wealth is divided, ſo that the leaſt heap ſhall be neareſt the town where " the corpſe lies.

" Then all thoſe are to be ſummoned together who have the fleeteſt " horſes in the land, for a wager of ſkill, within the diſtance of five or ſix " miles from theſe heaps [g]; and they all ride a race toward the ſubſtance of " the deceaſed. Then comes the man that has the winning horſe toward " the firſt and largeſt heap, and ſo each after other, till the whole is ſeized " upon. He procures, however, the leaſt heap, who takes that which is " neareſt the town; and then every one rides away with his ſhare, and " keeps the whole of it. On account of this cuſtom fleet horſes in that " country are wonderfully dear. When the wealth of the deceaſed has " been thus exhauſted, then they carry out his corpſe from the houſe, and " burn it, together with his weapons and clothes [h]; and generally they " ſpend his whole ſubſtance by the long continuance of the body within

[g] More than equivalent to *two three-mile-heats* in the preſent day! If any cuſtom can be ennobled by antiquity, the friends of the *turf* may here find an argument for their favourite diverſion. Equeſtrian exerciſes, and all the public games of competition, were anciently connected with rites and ceremonies of the moſt ſerious and important nature. See Homer, and his faithful copyiſt Virgil. Jornandes (c. xlix.) gives an intereſting deſcription of the funeral of Attila, which was celebrated with all that ſtrange mixture of grief and feſtivity, of pomp and cruelty, of funeral ſolemnity and tumultuous joy, which characterizes ſuch a ceremony in a rude ſtate of ſociety. *J. I.*

[h] This cuſtom of the Eſtonians will forcibly recall to the mind of the claſſical antiquary the following paſſage in Cæſar's Commentaries, (de Bello Gallico, lib. vi. c. 19.) " Funera " ſunt pro cultu Gallorum magnifica et ſumptuoſa; *omniaque, quæ vivis cordi fuiſſe arbitran-* " *tur, in ignem inferunt, etiam animalia*; ac paullo ſupra hanc memoriam ſervi, et clientes, " quos ab iis dilectos eſſe conſtabat, juſtis funeribus confecti una cremabantur." The cuſtom of *burning* the dead, νεκροκαυστια, or *cremation*, was almoſt univerſal among rude nations from the age of Homer to that of Alfred. See the *Heathen burial-place*, with its Hippodrome, &c. on Saliſbury plain, vulgarly called STONEHENGE, a corruption of STONE-RIDGE. *J. I.*

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" the houſe[l]; together with what they lay in heaps along the road, which " the ſtrangers run for, and take away.

" It is alſo an eſtabliſhed cuſtom with the Eſtonians, that the dead bodies " of every tribe or family ſhall be *burned*; and if any man findeth a ſingle " bone unconſumed, they[k] ſhall be fined[l] to a conſiderable amount. Theſe " Eſtonians alſo have the power of producing artificial cold; and it is thus " the dead body continues ſo long above ground without putrefying[m], on " which they produce this artificial cold; and, though a man ſhould ſet " two veſſels full of ale or of water, they contrive that either ſhall be com-

[l] That is, by the conſequential expences. *D. B.*

[k] i. e. the relations of the deceaſed; or, perhaps, the whole tribe; as King Alfred made a whole hundred in England pay for any public outrage, or notorious violation of the laws. *J. I.*

[l] " hi hit ſceolan miclum gebetan," Sax. " they ſhall it mickle boot," O. E. Mr. Barrington, ſuppoſing perhaps that the word gebetan here was the ſame with our preſent verb *to beat*, and that *beating* implies *anger*, tranſlates the paſſage feebly and erroneouſly thus: " It " is a cauſe of *anger*!" *Boot* is ſtill underſtood, both as a noun and a verb: " Alas! what " *boots* it with inceſſant care, &c." Milton's Lycidas. Mr. Barrington appears to have had his eye on a paſſage in Tacitus, where, ſpeaking of theſe ſame Eſtonians, he ſays, " rapus ſer- " ri, frequens *fuſtium* uſus!" (Tac. Germ. c. 45.) *J. I.*

[m] *Phineas* Fletcher, who was ambaſſador from Queen Elizabeth to Ruſſia, gives an account of the ſame practice continuing in ſome parts of Moſcovy. " In winter time, when all " is covered with ſnow, ſo many as die are piled up in a hovel in the ſuburbs, like billets on " a wood-ſtack; they are as hard with the froſt as a very ſtone, till the ſpring-tide come and " reſolve the froſt, what time every man taketh his dead friend, and committeth him to the " ground." See a note to one of Fletcher's Eclogues, p. 10. printed at Edinburgh, in 1771. 12mo. See alſo a poem written at Moſcow, by G. Turberville, in the firſt volume of Hakluyt, p. 386. where the ſame circumſtance is dwelt upon, and the reaſon given, that the ground cannot be dug. Bodies, however, are now buried at Moſcow during the winter. *D. B.* As the *poem* of G. Turberville, to which Mr. Barrington refers, in Hakluyt, is addreſſed to ſo great a poet as *Spenſer*, thoſe readers who happen not to have a copy of Hakluyt's Voyages, may be amuſed perhaps with the following ſpecimen of it:

" Perhaps thou muſeſt much, how this may ſtand with reaſon,
That bodies dead can uncorrupt abide ſo long a ſeaſon!
Take this for certaine trothe; as ſoone as heate is gone,
The force of colde the body binds as hard as any ſtone,
Without offence at all to any living thing;
And ſo they lye in perfect ſtate, till next returne of ſpringe." *J. I.*

" pletely

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" pletely frozen over; and this equally the ſame in the ſummer[n] as in the " winter."

Now will we ſpeak about thoſe parts of Europe that lie to the ſouth of the river Danube; and firſt of all, concerning Greece. The ſea which flows along the eaſtern ſide of Conſtantinople (a Grecian city) is called Propontis. To the north of this Grecian city an arm of the ſea ſhoots up weſtward from the Euxine; and to the weſt by north the mouths of the river Danube empty themſelves ſouth-eaſt into the Euxine[o]. To the ſouth and weſt of theſe mouths are the Mœſians, a tribe of Greeks; to the weſt of the city are the Thracians, and to the weſt alſo are the Macedonians. To the ſouth of this city, towards the ſouthern part of that arm of the ſea which is called the Egean, Athens and Corinth are ſituated. And to the weſt by ſouth of Corinth is the land of Achaia, near the Mediterranean. To the weſt of Achaia, along the Mediterranean, is Dalmatia, on the north ſide of the ſea; to the north of Dalmatia are the boundaries of Bulgaria and Iſtria. To the ſouth of Iſtria is that part of the Mediterranean which is called the Adriatic; to the weſt are the Alps, and to the north that deſert which is between the Carinthians and the Bulgarians.

Italy, which is of great length weſt by north, and alſo eaſt by ſouth, is ſurrounded by the Mediterranean on every ſide but towards the weſt-north. At that end of it lie the Alps, which begin weſtward from the Mediterranean, in the Narbonenſe country, and end eaſtward in Dalmatia, near the [Adriatic] ſea[p].

With reſpect to the territory called Gallia Belgica, to the eaſt of it is the river Rine, to the ſouth the Alps, to the weſt by ſouth the ſea called the BRITISH OCEAN, and to the north, on the other ſide of the arm of the

[n] This muſt have been effected by ſome ſort of an ice-houſe; and it appears by the Amœnitates Academicæ, that they have now ice-houſes in Sweden and Lapland, which they build with moſs. *D. B.* This is now conſidered a modern invention! *J. I.*

[o] *Into the ſouth-eaſt part of the Euxine*, according to Mr. Barrington's tranſlation; for the correction of which I refer the reader to the original, and to the firſt map of Europe that he happens to lay his hand on. Three lines below, for *eaſt* read *weſt*. J. I.

[p] " To the eaſt of the ſea oppoſite to Gallia Belgica," according to Mr. Barrington, who was miſled by an improper punctuation in the original. *J. I.*

Ocean,

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Ocean, is BRITANNIA. The land to the weſt of the river Loire is Æquitania; to the ſouth of Æquitania is ſome part of the Narbonenſe; to the weſt by ſouth is the territory of Spain; and to the ſouth the Ocean. To the ſouth of the Narbonenſe is the Mediterranean, where the Rodanus empties itſelf into the ſea, having Provençe both on the eaſt and weſt. Over the Pyrenean waſtes is Iſpania citerior [q]; to the weſt of which, by north, is Equitania, and the province of Gaſcony [44] to the north. Provençe [45] has to the north of it the Alps; to the ſouth of it is the Mediterranean; to the north-eaſt of it are the Burgundians, and the people of Gaſcony to the weſt.

Spain is triangular; and entirely guarded on the outſide by the ſea, either by the great Ocean or by the Mediterranean, and alſo well guarded within over the land. One of the angles lies ſouth-weſt againſt the iſland of Gades; the ſecond eaſtward againſt the Narbonenſe territory, and the third north-weſt againſt Braganza, a town of Gallicia. And againſt Scotland, (i.e. Ireland,) over the arm of the ſea, in a ſtraight line with the mouth of the Shannon, is Iſpania ulterior [q]. To the weſt of it is the Ocean, and to the ſouth and eaſt of it, northward of the Mediterranean, is Iſpania citerior [q]; to the north of which are the lands of Equitania; to the north-eaſt is the weald of the Pyrenees, to the eaſt the Narbonenſe, and to the ſouth the Mediterranean.

With regard to the iſland BRITANNIA, it is of conſiderable length to the north-eaſt; being eight hundred miles long, and only two hundred miles broad. To the ſouth of it, on the other ſide of the arm of the ſea, is Gallia Belgica; to the weſt, on the other ſide of an arm of the ſea, is the iſland Ibernia, and to the northward the Orkney iſles. Ibernia, which we call SCOTLAND, is ſurrounded on every ſide with the Ocean; and hence, becauſe the rays of the ſetting ſun ſtrike on it with leſs interruption than on

[q] It muſt be recollected, that Oroſius is ſuppoſed to ſpeak, and not Ælfred. *D. B.* The royal Geographer, indeed, appears to have deſerted Oroſius entirely, as an inſufficient guide, till he came to thoſe territories which are ſituated to the ſouth of the Danube. This, therefore, is the only part of his deſcription, which can be ſtrictly conſidered as a *tranſlation*. The diviſion alſo of all Europe into the countries lying north and ſouth of the Danube, ſo clear and ſimple, which is completely *original*, ſhews how much we owe to King Alfred. *J. I.*

other

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other countries [r], the weather is milder there than it is in Britain. Thence, to the weſt-north of Ibernia is that UTMOST land called Thíla, which is known to a few men only, on account of its exceeding great diſtance [s].

Thus have we now ſufficiently deſcribed all the land-marks of Europe, according to their reſpective ſituations.

[r] Literally, "for that the ſun *goeth nigher on ſettle*, &c." Though King Alfred of courſe delivered his thoughts in the popular language of his time, it may perhaps be difficult to find a more philoſophical reaſon for a well known fact, which Oroſius indeed had *recorded*, but did not *explain*. In ſpite of philoſophy we ſtill talk of the *riſing* and the *ſetting* ſun. *J. I.*

[s] The words of Oroſius are: "Deinde inſula Thule, (*l. Thile*,) quæ per infinitum a ceteris "ſeparata, circium verſus medio ſita oceano, vix paucis nota habetur." Oroſ. Haverc. p. 28. "Pro *Thule* ed. pr. et MSS. Flor. *Tile*. Aug. *Thile*," &c. Havercamp. Yet he prints *Thule*. Our royal Tranſlator appears to have read *Thila*, or *Thile*; which agrees better with the etymology of the word, though the Greeks wrote Θουλη, and the Romans after them *Thule*. The epithet *ytemeſte*, which is the real meaning of Thile, is added by King Alfred, correſponding with the epithet *ultima* in Virgil, (Georg. I. 30.) Venantius Fortunatus, (Vit. S. Martini, III. 494.) &c. See Ol. Rudbek. Atlant. c. v. & xix. Though Profeſſor Rudbek, like other ſyſtem-builders, would make all the learning of antiquity converge, as to a centre, to his favourite SVEONIA, and though it is evident, that the Thule of Pliny, Procopius, and ſome others, muſt have been the great peninſula of Sweden and Norway, yet it is equally manifeſt, from the accurate deſcriptions of Alfred and Oroſius, that by THULE *they* underſtood the modern ISLAND. Vid. M. de Bougainville, ſur les Voyag. de Pythéas, &c. *J. I.*

As I have ventured (p. 83.) to give a new interpretation of that wonder of the world, STONEHENGE, though whole volumes might be written with the pompous title of STONEHENGE RESTORED, and with fairer claims to public attention than thoſe of INIGO JONES and others, yet at preſent I ſhall content myſelf with reprinting on a vacant page in this ſheet the following document, extracted from Dugdale's Monaſticon, Vol. III. p. 857. It is a grant of lands from King Athelſtan to Wilton Abbey, extending from the banks of the Nadder along the PILE of STONES to Burbage, Savernak foreſt, Oare, and Wonſdike to the north, and beyond Weſtbury along the old Bath road to the weſt.

The whole well deſerves the attention of the future hiſtorian of Wiltſhire.

Ex

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Ex Cartulario de Wilton, penes Comitem Pembrocienſ. anno 1658.
(*Vid. Monaſt. Angl. III.* 857. *et ſeqq.*)

Ðis is Norþ Niwantunes boc.

ÆREST on Avene [a] at Stintes forde. þat and lang weges on Teolton forde and ſwa ongean ſtream on Wifeles forde. þonne and lang þæs friþ herpaþes on Sand beorh. of þam beorge to Botan wylle. þonne forþ be ſtreame on blacan lace. þæt and lang lace on Afene [a]. and ſwa and lang ſtreame eft on Stintes ford:. Ðis ſynd þa land gemære æt þam Oran [b]. Æreſt on Heeſel wylle þat and lang weges on Beorh dic. þonne and lang þære dic on Risþyfel and ſwa weſt on butan on bradan ſtane. of þam ſtane on rugan dic. þonne on Luſa beorg. þæt and lang weges on readan ſloh and ſwa to Wodnes dic [c]. þonne forþ be þære dic on Crypel geat. þonne forþ to Drag ſtane and ſwa to Meoſleage. of þare leage and lang oxna pæþes eft on Heeſel wylle:.

(De VI. manſis apud BRYDANCUMBE.)

Ðis is Brydancumbes land boc þe Aþelſtan cing gebocode þam hiwum æt Wiltune for hine and for Eadflede his ſwiſtor on eche yrfe:. Ðis ſyndon þa land gemæro æt Brydancumbe. of Noddre [d] ſtaþe up ofer eaſt cumbe ſwa ſe STAN-HRYCG [e] ſcyt to þæm HEEÞANNE BYRGELSE. þonne weſt and lang hriges ſwa ſe herepoþ ſceat to þam beorge [f] to ſcorte Hryþrum [g]. þonne forþ be yſre oþ Bringwoldes treow. þonne and lang herpoþes in on beorge [f]. forþ þonne and lang ſtreames oþ oxna ford. þonne þær ofer on ane lake. þonne and lang lake in on NODDRE [d].

" Acta eſt hæc præfata donatio anno ab Incarnatione Domini noſtri Jeſu " Chriſti DCCCCXXXVII. Indictione X.

[a] AVON. [b] OARE. [c] WONSDIKE, i. e. WODEN'S-DIKE. [d] NADDER, or Adderbourn.
[e] STONE-RIDGE; vulg. *Stonidge, Stonage, Stonehenge*, &c. [f] WESTBURY.
[g] SHORT RIVER; near BEORGE, or Weſtbury; i. e. the Short *Rother*-path.

King

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King Alfred's Deſcription of the Ilands in the Mediterranean, from Oroſius.

NU wille we ſecgan ymb þa ygland þe on þa Wendel ſæ ſyndon:. Cipros þæt igland. hit liþ ongean Cilicia and Iſaurio. on þam ſæs earme þe man hæt Iſſicos. and hit is an hund mila lang and fifan and ſifantig. and an hund mila brad and twa and twentig:. Creto þæt igland. him is be eaſtan ſe ſæ þe man Carfatium hæt. and weſtan be norþan Creticum ſe ſæ. and be weſtan Sicilium. þe man oþre naman hæt Addriaticum. hit is an hund mila long and hund-ſifantig. and fiftig mila brad:. Ðara iglandà þe man hæt Ciclades. þara ſyndon þreo and fiftig. and be eaſtan him is ſe Icariſca ſæ. and be ſuþan ſe Cretiſca. and be norþan ſe Egiſca. and be weſtan Addriaticum:. Sicilia þæt igland is þry-ſcyte. on ælces ſceatan ende ſyndon beorgas. þone norþ ſceatan man hæt Pelores. þær is ſeo burh neah Meſſana. and ſe ſuþ ſceata hatte Pachinum. þær neah is ſio burh Siracuſſana. and þone weſt ſceatan man hæt Lilibeum. þær is ſio burh neah þe man hæt Lilibeum. and hit is an hund and ſyfan and fiftig mila lang ſuþ and norþ. and ſe þridda ſceata is an hund and ſyfan and hund-ſyfantig weſt lang. and be eaſtan þæm lande is ſe Wendel ſæ þe man hæt Adriaticum. and be ſuþan þam man hæt Affricum. and be weſtan þe man hæt Tirrenum. and be norþan is ſe ſæ þe ægþer is ge nearo ge hreoh:.

Wiþ Italie þam lande Sardinia and Corſica þa igland todæleþ an lytel ſæs earm. ſe is twa and twentig mila brad. Sardinia is þreo and þritig mila lang and twa and twentig mila brad. him is be eaſtan ſe Wendel ſæ þe man hæt Tirrenum. þe Tiber ſio ea ut ſcyt on. and be ſuþan ſe ſæ þe liþ ongean Numedia lande. and be weſtan þa twa igland þe man hæt Balearis. and be

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norþan Corſica þæt igland. Corſica. him is Rome burh be eaſtan. and Sardinia be ſuþan. and be weſtan þa igland Balearis. and be norþan Tuſcania þæt land. hit is ſyxtene mila lang. and nygan mila brad:. Balearis þa tu igland. him is be ſuþan Affrica. and Gades be weſtan. and Iſpania be norþan:.

Scortlice hæbbe we nu geſæd be þæm geſeteneſſum iglandum þe on þæm Wendel ſæ ſindon:.

NOTES

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NOTES

ON THE

FIRST CHAPTER OF THE FIRST BOOK

OF

ÆLFRED'S ANGLO-SAXON VERSION OF OROSIUS.

BY

MR. J. R. FORSTER, F. R. S.[a]

THE Geography of King Ælfred is not to be conſidered as a mere tranſlation of Oroſius, for he brings in the teſtimony of Ohthere and Wulfſtan, who came to the King, and gave him a moſt minute and accurate account of

[a] JOHN REINHOLD FORSTER, I believe, is the *firſt* and *only* perſon, who has hitherto had the ſagacity juſtly and duly to appreciate the value of this geographical fragment. He has therefore taken great pains to render it more intelligible. The geographical notes of Buſſæus, printed at Copenhagen in the year 1733 with his edition of the Periplus of Ohthere &c. ſaid by Mr. Barrington to have been publiſhed together with Arius Polyhiſtor, I have not yet ſeen. But I conclude, if they had been of much ſervice, they would have been conſulted to ſome advantage by Mr. Forſter and Mr. Barrington, the latter of whom has expreſsly mentioned them. With reſpect to the objection of Mr. Barrington to the word *periplus*, as applied by Buſſæus to the voyage of Ohthere, it appears to me to be totally groundleſs, particularly ſince the word has been made familiar to every Engliſh reader by the ingenious publications of Dr. Vincent, the learned Dean of Weſtminſter. That the voyage was ſtrictly a *circumnavigation*, muſt be evident to any perſon who examines the courſe of it; and it appears to me to deſerve the name as much as any *circumnavigation* hitherto performed, though it is certain, that he did not ſail round the globe! Whether my taſte will be condemned as *barbarous*, or not, I cannot tell; but I confeſs I have felt more intereſt and amuſement from the peruſal of the *Periplus* of Ohthere, and the *Paraplus* of Wulfſtan, as written by King Alfred,

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their own navigations; and therefore IT IS A MOST PRECIOUS FRAGMENT OF THE REAL SITUATION OF SEVERAL NATIONS IN THE NINTH CENTURY! The veil which time has drawn over the hiſtory of thoſe dark middle ages, eſpecially in regard to the more remote countries in the north

fred, than from any Periplus or Paraplus of antiquity. To the exploits of the ancients, indeed, we may apply the philoſophical ſentiment of Salluſt; they have been magnified by the genius of their hiſtorians, poets, and orators, "quantum extollere potuerunt præclara ingenia!" Mr. Barrington, who certainly had to contend with great difficulties in this part of his work, ſays, "that the firſt chapter of Alfred's Oroſius, which deſcribes the boundaries of "Europe, Aſia, and Africa, together with the principal provinces, will undoubtedly appear to "moſt readers *very unentertaining*, though it will be found to contain many particulars, *which "will illuſtrate the geography of the middle ages, eſpecially in the more northern parts of Europe.*" (Preface to his Tranſlation, p. xxiii.) This chapter, indeed, is the more difficult to be underſtood, and therefore leſs likely to be *entertaining*, becauſe the royal Paraphraſt is ſo far from tranſlating Oroſius literally, that he deſerts him almoſt in every line, omits what he thought unintereſting to his Saxon readers, tranſpoſes what is out of order, and ſupplies what appeared to be deficient. And though this was his general practice in his tranſlations of authors, yet it is no where ſo conſpicuous as in this firſt chapter of his Oroſius. The reader will form ſome idea of the truth of this ſtatement when he is told, that the whole deſcription of Europe in Havercamp's Oroſius fills but *ſix* pages 4to. of very large type, more than *one half* of which conſiſts, as uſual, of notes about *various readings!* We are indebted to King Alfred, and to King Alfred alone, for the accurate deſcription of nearly all thoſe numerous tribes, with their territories, from which has been conſtructed the immenſe fabric of the German empire; the ruins of which are about to be employed to increaſe the aggrandiſement of France. The ſources of the Rine and the Danube, as well as the courſe of thoſe rivers, are more accurately marked than in the original; and let it be remembered, that there is ſcarcely any authentic and accurate information to be derived either from Oroſius or from any other writer, previous to the time of ALFRED, with reſpect to any country of Europe ſituated beyond the latitude of 55 degrees north. This ſeems to have been the *ne plus ultra* of the geographical knowledge of the ancients towards the north, as the Pillars of Hercules were to the weſt. For, though Ptolemy, Pliny, and many others have mentioned an iſland called Thile, Thyle, or Thule, as the extreme point to the north, yet it is evident, from the diſcordant opinions reſpecting the ſituation of it, which have agitated the learned for the laſt two thouſand years, that nothing *certain* was known concerning it. But, whatever might have been conſidered by other geographers as the Thile, or extreme point towards the north, the Thile of Oroſius and of his royal Tranſlator was undoubtedly ISLAND. How far the land of Norway and Sweden (the ancient Scandinavia, and the Thule of Pliny, Procopius, and others) extended towards the North Pole, was totally unknown, till an obſcure navigator of Helgo-

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and eaſt of Europe, makes it certainly very difficult to find out the real names of ſeveral nations and places mentioned by King Ælfred: but the comparative view of the ſituation of ſuch nations as are known to us will contribute to identify thoſe that are either unknown, or at leaſt ſo diſguiſed as to make it no eaſy matter to fix their ſeats with any degree of certainty.

The firſt country in Europe, that Ælfred deſcribes, is GERMANY: but he gives it ſuch an extent, as few other writers have done. Among thoſe few is Paulus Warnefried, (Hiſt. Longob. l. i. c. 1. ſub initium.) It muſt therefore be underſtood, that he takes in all the Teutonic tribes, when he ſpeaks of Germany; and even then the geography is not eaſily comprehended; though upon examination we find the royal Geographer well informed and perfectly accurate [b]. The limits of Germany are, to the eaſtward the river Tanais, to the weſt the river Rine, to the ſouth the Danube, and to the north the ocean called the Cwen-ſea. The rivers Tanais, Danais, or Don, the Rine, and Danube, are well known; the ſea, however, called the Cwen-ſea, is very little if at all ſo.

To ſhew its true ſituation, we muſt trace Ohthere in his navigation. He firſt ſays, that he lived *to the north of all the Northmen*; and calls the ſhire he inhabited Halgoland. This Halgoland cannot be the iſle of Helgheland, at the mouth of the Elb, becauſe it lies not north of all the Northmen [c];

land came to the court of King Alfred in the NINTH CENTURY, and delivered to that Monarch a faithful report of a voyage of DISCOVERY, which he had made round the NORTH CAPE, and to the banks of the DWINA! In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, nearly 700 years afterwards, a NEW diſcovery of this north-eaſt paſſage to Ruſſia was ſuppoſed to have been made by the ſhips of the ENGLISH COMPANY. Yet, though Sir Hugh Willoughby and his whole crew WERE FROZEN TO DEATH IN THE ATTEMPT, this hardy ſon of the North has not complained of the ſlighteſt inconvenience during his whole voyage. The two other voyages along the ſhores and iſlands of the Baltic, or Eaſt ſea, cannot but be intereſting to every inhabitant of the North of Europe, particularly amidſt the preſent operations of the belligerent powers, and the novel complexion of political affairs.

[b] Yet Mr. Barrington thinks it neceſſary to veil his own miſtakes under the following caution: "I do not profeſs to maintain the accuracy of either the geography or the expreſſions "of the royal Tranſlator." p. 23.

[c] Much leſs can it be the province called HALLAND, which then belonged to the Danes, but is now part of Sweden. Yet Somner in his Dictionary ſays, "Per *Halgoland* intelligen-

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beſides, this iſle had in ancient times another name, viz. Farroee, Farria, or Harthia, for it was conſecrated to the Earth, the great divinity of ſeveral German nations, (Tacit. de mor. Germ. c. 40.) and thence it had the name of *Harthia*, from *Herthum* the divinity. Tacitus obſerves, "Eſt in inſula "oceani *caſtum* nemus," a HOLY foreſt; this cauſed the whole iſle to be called *Helgheland*, i. e. *Holy-land*.

Ohthere's Halgoland, however, was in Norway, a diſtrict belonging to the province of Nordland, (i. e. Northland,) about 65°. north lat.[d]; it is ſtill called Helgheland, and is really one of the northernmoſt places in our time, that are inhabited. From this place Ohthere ſailed due north, WITH AN INTENT TO DISCOVER HOW FAR THIS COUNTRY EXTENDED IN THAT DIRECTION[e]; and he being the northernmoſt inhabitant, beyond him the country was deſert. This waſte land he had on his ſtarboard, and the wide ſea on his larboard ſide: theſe circumſtances ſhew evidently, that he had the Weſtern Ocean on his left, and the ſhores of Lapland on his right; for he ſailed north *by the land* (be þæm lande,) i. e. along the ſhore; the particle *be* having this ſignification ſtill in the German. Three days

"dum puto regionem illam *Danorum* regi ſubjectam, hodieque HALLAND appellatam!" Mr. Lye, haſtily adopting this opinion without examination, goes ſtill farther, and conſiders this ſmall province, "regionem Danorum regi ſubjectam," as the whole of Denmark, *Dania!*

[d] Rather, perhaps, about 66°. 40'. for ſo I find it in maps of good authority, and generally written Heligeland, or Helgeland. There is ſtill a whole diſtrict of this name between Trondheim and the Norlands, or between what is properly called Norway and Finmark, extending from lat. 65°. 30'. to a little diſtance beyond the Arctic circle; this is probably the *ſhire* or diviſion of Northmannaland, the moſt northern part of which Ohthere inhabited. Iſland was the firſt land to his right, as he ſet ſail from Helgoland to the Baltic.

[e] And to diſcover alſo, "whether there were any human beings to the north of the waſte, "or deſert!" A noble and perilous enterprize for a northern navigator in the NINTH CENTURY! The following paſſage in the original Saxon, which has been either overlooked or totally miſunderſtood by the editors, expreſsly mentions the grand object of this voyage, and proves it to have been a VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY; "Swiþoſt he for þyder TO EACAN þÆS "LANDES SCEAWUNGE," &c. (See the Engliſh tranſlation, & not. in locum.) Ought we not then to place the name of OHTHERE, as M. de Bougainville ſays of Pytheas of Marſeilles, "dans la liſte des Gamas, des Colombs, des Magellans; eſpèce de conquérans plus digne de "vivre dans la mémoire des hommes, que les Séſoſtris et les Alexandres?" Mém. de Littérat. tom. xix. p. 147.

ſail

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ſail brought him to the place, which was the *ne plus ultra* of the whale-hunters in that age; and he then continued his courſe due north three other days. A day's ſail was, with the ancient Greeks, 1000 ſtadia, which is above a degree, or about 100 ſea-miles; ſo that it is no wonder, that Ohthere found himſelf at laſt near the North-Cape, within ſix days eaſy ſail, which is not quite ſix degrees north of Helgheland. He could not double the Cape unleſs with a weſt wind; and after a ſhort ſtay he ſhaped his courſe eaſtward during four days; but then the coaſt began to run due ſouth, and he therefore waited till he could proceed with a north wind. Having obtained this wind, he went on for five days in a ſouthern direction, and came in that time to the mouth of a great river[f], on the banks of which dwelt the Beormas, (or Biarmians,) who hindered him from going higher up in that river: this was the firſt inhabited country he met with; having had all the time of his courſe a deſert on his right, frequented only occaſionally by the fowlers, fiſhermen, and hunters of the Finnas, or Terſennas. Lapland is called Finmark by the Danes to this very day; which proves the Finnas to be the Lapponians. In the country of the Beormas he found the *horſe-whales*[g], or the *Walruſs*, animals which he diſtinguiſhes carefully from the whales and the ſeals, of whoſe teeth he brought a preſent to King Ælfred, and which are found no where but in the White ſea near Archangel, and the other ſeas to the north of Siberia. In all the ocean near Norway and Lapland no walruſſes are ever ſeen, but ſtill leſs in the Baltic; and this ſtrongly proves Ohthere to have been in the White Sea.

Ohthere afterwards deſcribes Northmannaland, which is a long narrow country, extending all along the ſhores of the Weſtern Ocean, having to the eaſt great moors, inhabited by the Finnas. To the ſouth of this coun-

[f] Now called the Dwina, which flows into the White Sea near Archangel, about lat. 64°. 60'. ſo that Ohthere's voyage round the North Cape muſt have deſcribed at leaſt a ſemicircle, or about 1500 ſea-miles, and therefore is well worthy of the title of a PERIPLUS.

[g] Theſe are explained to be the ſame with the *morſes* in a marginal note to the tranſlation in Hakluyt, already quoted by Mr. Barrington. Hakluyt's Voyages, Vol. I. p. 5. They are the ſame with the *phocæ*, or *vituli marini* of Pliny. "MORSE, ſ. fie-heſt, eller oxe, *bos marinus*." Serenius, Swediſh Dictionary. In fact, the word *morſe* appears to be a contraction of *mor-orſe*, a *ſea-horſe*. *Hwal-ruſs* is a *Ruſſian whale*.

try

try was Sweoland, now Sweden: quite beyond the moors (on the deſert, which lies north from his habitation,) is Cwenland, whoſe inhabitants made inroads into Northmannaland, going over the moors. Conſequently it is evident, that Cwenland can be no where elſe, but in the modern Finland, which lies beyond the moors of the deſert, (which laſt are now Lapland.) King Ælfred ſaid the ſame before, mentioning the Sweons, " to the eaſt of " which are the Sermendè (in Livonia); and to the north of the Sweons, " over the waſtes, (i. e. having paſſed the waſtes or deſerts,) are the Cwe- " nas [h]." From hence it is inconteſtible, that Cwenland is the ſame with Finland, and the Cwen-ſea muſt be one of the ſeas including Finland. The Baltic is on one of its ſides, but this is called by King Ælfred the Oſt-ſea, which is its uſual name in the German language to this day. On the other ſide, is the gulf called the White Sea; this therefore muſt be Cwen-ſea. Nay, Snorro Sturleſon mentions, " that Carelia extends quite to " Gandwich, (i. e. the White Sea,) where Quenland lyes along its ſhores, " near Biarmia:" ſo that there is no doubt, but that Cwen-ſea is the White Sea [i]. Therefore Germany, in the time of King Ælfred, extended quite to the Cwen-ſea.

The Danes, the Swedes, and the Normans [k] ſpoke certainly a dialect of German, underſtood then by the Germans, which is plain from a compariſon of both languages in the moſt ancient records; and a dialect of the German was ſpoken from the White Sea to the Baltic, along the Dnepr, and probably farther eaſt to the very Tanais. This, I believe, induced

[h] Adamus Bremenſis deſcribes Sweden as extending northward " uſque ad *terram fœmina-* " *rum*;" (i. e. Cwena-land.) The hiſtory of the Amazons, which has been conſidered as entirely fabulous, is partly explained by the meaning of the word Cwenas, which is here tranſlated *fœminæ!* Vid. Ælfr. Oroſ. p. 48. et ſeqq. ed. Barrington.

[i] This ingenious conjecture is confirmed by the very ſignification of the word *cwen, white, fair, or beautiful*, preſerved in the Welſh language to this day in gwyn, gwen, gŭen, or gwent; qwin, Swed. queen, Engl. See Lhuyd's Archaiolog. Brit. and Baxter's Gloſſary. The Cwen-ſea alſo is called *Bella More* by the Ruſſians, which conveys preciſely the ſame idea.

[k] Or Norwegians; which three nations are often deſcribed under the general appellation of Northmen, or Normans; and their language has been called, in a vague manner, the Norſe, or Nourſe; a term corrupted from Norſke, Norriſh, Nor'ſh, Nor'ſe, &c. So Er'ſe from Erſke, Eriſh, Iriſh, &c. The Norſe, Norwegian, and Iſlandic are the ſame.

King

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King Ælfred to look upon all that vaſt tract, from the Don to the Rine, and from the Danube to the White Sea, as belonging to Germany. Having thus ſtated the limits of Germany in general, we muſt follow the royal Geographer in the particulars.

[11] The Eaſt-Francan [m] were confined between the Rine to the weſt and the Sala to the eaſt, the Danube to the ſouth, and the Saxons to the north, according to Eginhard, Charlemagne's Secretary: and this ſituation is likewiſe given to them by our royal Geographer.

[2] The Suevæ, [SVEVI,] or Swæfæ, are the Suabians; and inhabited that part of Germany called ſince the time of Caracalla, Allemannia [n].

[3] The Beathware are undoubtedly the Bavarians, or the Boiari, whoſe country was called Boiaria; its preſent German name is Bayern [o], and it is really to the ſouth-eaſt of Francia Orientalis. Its limits formerly extended beyond the Danube, between the rivers Leck to the weſt, and the Ens or Aniſus to the eaſt. The town of Ratiſbon is called in the German Regenſburgh, and belonged to Bavaria.

[4] The Bemè, or Behemæ, are the Bohemians [p]. Their country was, in

[1] Theſe numbers refer to the Engliſh tranſlation, which begins p. 71.

[m] The inhabitants of Francia Orientalis, or Eaſt-Frankland; the old name is now perhaps preſerved in the Circle of *Franconia*. In the Roman ſurvey of the globe, and in the Coſmography of Æthicus, the French are called Franciſcani, i. e. Frankiſh men; firſt written by us, Franciſc-men, then *French*; Francas by themſelves, then *François*.

[n] The *Circle* of *Suabia* in ſome old maps of Germany is called *Circulus Suevicus*. Theſe Suabians, or Suevi, like the Vandals and other *wandering* tribes, had their name from their roving and unſettled habits; the word *ſchweiffen* in German ſtill ſignifies to *wander*. Tacitus and other writers call the whole ſea that lies to the north of Germany *Mare Suevicum*; and the whole of Germany as far as the Viſtula is ſometimes called *Suevia*. Oroſius ſays expreſsly, that the Suevi occupied the greateſt part of Germany in his time, and that they conſiſted of *fifty-four* different tribes, or nations, *gentes*. He has, nevertheleſs, mentioned but very few of thoſe fifty-four tribes, and King Alfred with great judgment endeavours to ſupply the deficiency.

[o] Now generally called the Circle of Bavaria, lying next to the Circle of Franconia to the ſouth-eaſt.

[p] Though the word *Bemè* may appear a *barbarous* contraction for Bohemæ, or Boihemi, it is nevertheleſs derived from the Greek and Roman geographers, who have invariably written Βοιμοι, Bæmi, &c. by corruption, from the days of Ptolemy to thoſe of Alfred, who has alſo

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ancient times, inhabited by a tribe of Celti, or Gauls; who conquered and ſettled in it, and called it *Boiohemum*, the *home* of the *Boii*. Bohemia had its Sclavonic dukes in the time of Charlemagne, in whoſe annals we find, in the year 805, the following account: "Eodem anno miſit imperator exer-"citum ſuum cum filio ſuo Carolo in terram Sclavorum, quæ BEHEIM "vocatur, qui, omnem eorum terram depopulatus, ducem eorum, nomine "Lechonem, occidit." The royal Geographer's centre is ſtill Francia Orientalis, and to the eaſt of that is Bohemia.

[5] The Thyringæ are a nation to the north-eaſt of Francia Orientalis. They were formerly called Therringi, mentioned by Amm. Marcellinus, l. xxxi. c. 3. Eutrop. l. viii. They were a branch of the Goths in ancient Dacia; and afterwards in one of the great migrations they ſettled ſomewhere north-eaſt of Francia Orientalis, near the river Sala, where at preſent Thyringen is ſituated.

[6] The Saxons, or Seaxan, were to the north of Thyringen and the Eaſt-Francan. This nation has been very famous; it was thus called, to diſtinguiſh it from thoſe nations, which had no certain or ſettled habitations, as the Suevi and Vandali; and their name implies *a ſettled people* (*Saſſen*) [q]. They formerly lived on the eaſtern ſhore of the Elb, which our royal Geographer calls Old Saxony; for, according to Stephanus Ethnicographus, they lived formerly in the Cherſoneſus Cimbrica. When the Franks had conquered France, the Saxons took poſſeſſion of their ſeats, even to the Rine; and thoſe of them that lived on the weſt ſhores of the Weſer were called *Weſt-phali*, from the old word *fahlen*, *wahlen*, or *d'wallen*, to *dwell*,

written *Behemæ*; and even ſo lately as the reign of Henry the Sixth we find nearly the ſame orthography:

"Alſo Pruſe men maken her adventúre
Of plate of ſilver, of wedges good and ſure,
In great plentié, which they bring and bye
Out of the lands of *Beame* and Hungarie."

Vid. "The Policie of keeping the Sea; the fifth chapitle;" printed in Hakluyt, from a MS. "in the Trinitie church of Wincheſter," Vol. I. p. 192. fol. Lond. 1598. See alſo the Nomenclator Ptolemaicus of Ortelius, p. 14. fol. Antwerp. 1584.

[q] A different interpretation is given by Verſtegan, and other antiquaries. See "Reſtitu-"tion of decayed Intelligence in Antiquities," Spelman's Life of Alfred, &c.

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becauſe they really were to the weſt; thoſe that were eaſt of the Weſer bore the name of *Oſt-phali*, i. e. *Eaſt-dwellers*, and part of them extending to the north along the Weſer were the *Angrivarii*, or *Angrii*.

[7] The Fryſæ are placed to the north-weſt of Francia Orientalis, which is true; for Charlemagne confined them within the Weſer, the Scheld, and Fryſland, and they were therefore weſtward of Old Saxony.

[8] Angle, or Angle-land, is to the north-eaſt of Old Saxony, together with Sillende, or Sealand, and part of Dene, or Denmark; and therefore it is very probable, that the point of the compaſs muſt be wrong in the original, or that the good king has been miſtaken [r].

[r] I believe it will be found, on examination, that the *good king* is right, and that the point of the compaſs is *not* wrong in the original; though Mr. Forſter and Mr. Barrington are both poſitive, that the Angles lived to the north-*eaſt* of the Saxons. Now, in the firſt place, the land which they inhabited was called the *Angle*, or *Angle*-land, whence it is evident, that they lived at the *weſtern* extremity of what is now called Holſatia, or Old Saxony, beyond Kiel and Lubek; and in the next place we muſt conſider, that it is in the Circle of Franconia, not in Old Saxony, where we are to ſeek the geographical *centre* of King Alfred. It may be here obſerved, once for all, that King Alfred uſes *twelve points of the compaſs*; a circumſtance hitherto overlooked. Theſe are the four cardinal points, Eaſt, Weſt, North, and South; and two intermediate points between each of theſe cardinal points, which are emphatically called, North-eaſt, and Eaſt-north; South-weſt, and Weſt-ſouth; Weſt-north, and North-weſt; Eaſt-ſouth, and South-eaſt. If therefore, for inſtance, the point intended to be deſcribed between Eaſt and North happened to be more to the Eaſt than to the North, the expreſſion uſed is North-eaſt; and on the contrary, if it lay more to the North than to the Eaſt, it was conveniently deſcribed in Saxon by the obſolete compound Eaſt-north, the moſt emphatic word being placed laſt. The Greeks appear to have had names for *eight* winds only; ſome allowed but *four*. Andronicus Cyrrheſtes is celebrated by Vitruvius, for maintaining the octonary number, and for erecting on that ſyſtem the famous octagon tower of marble at Athens, called the Tower of the Winds; on the model of which the Obſervatory at Oxford is built; having on each ſide of the octagon a winged figure in relievo, repreſenting one of the eight winds. (Vid. Vitruv. lib. i. c. 6. & Stuart's Athens, vol. i. c. iii. p. 13.) The erroneous conjecture of Le Roy, reſpecting the *four and twenty* winds ſuppoſed to be repreſented on this tower at Athens, aroſe merely from the appearance of the pyramidal roof, the baſe of which is a polygon of four and twenty ſides; but the four and twenty *winds* are to be found only in the imaginary compaſs of the French traveller. To the eight winds of the Greeks the Romans added four more, making the twelve of King Alfred. In an excellent map of the Empire of Charlemagne, by J. Janſſon, the ſame points of the compaſs are given,

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[9] The Apdredæ [s], or, as they are afterwards called, the Afdredæ, are no doubt, both by their name and poſition, the Obotritæ, a Venedic nation, ſettled in Meklenburgh.

[10] Æfeldan are, as King Ælfred calls them, *wolds* [t]: there are at preſent in the middle part of Jutland large tracts of high moors, covered with heath only [u].

[11] Weonodland, or Winedaland, is the country of the Venedi, a nation originally of the ſame origin with the Pruſſians and Lithuanians.

[12] The Maroare are the Sclavi Maharenſes, or the Moravians, from the river Marus, or Maharus, running through their country, and which empties itſelf into the Danube not far below Vienna.

[13] Carendre is the name by which King Ælfred probably calls the Sclavi Carenthani, or Carentani: at preſent their country is the Duchy of Carinthia, or Cærnthen. Formerly, in Strabo's time, the Carni lived there; (lib. vii.) whether they were of Teutonic offspring, or one of thoſe Gaulic tribes who ſettled here with the Scordiſci and Boii, cannot be eaſily aſcertained. From the neighbourhood of the Sarmatæ in Pannonia, and from the affinity of the name of Carni with Crain, which in the Sclavonic lan-

given, and the names of the winds differ but little from the nomenclature of King Alfred. Pliny and Vitruvius have given us the beſt account of the winds of the ancients.

[s] The name appears to be preſerved in the word *Abendrade*, or *Apenrade*, a town and diſtrict in the duchy of Schleſwig; lat. 54°. 52'. N. but at ſome diſtance from Meklenburgh.

[t] This word has never been ſufficiently explained; its original ſignification is the ſame, whether written felds, fields, velts, welds, wilds, wyltes, wealds, walds, waltz, wolds, &c. &c; *l* being the radical and unchangeable letter, which implies *length*, or extent, whether of power, as in the Hebrew name of the Deity, or of ſpace, as in his wonderful works; lakes, (lochs,) wealds, wolds, wilderneſſes, &c. So old age was properly called *eld* by our *elder* poets. It is therefore by *ſubaudition* that *weald* ſignifies a place *abounding in woods*, whilſt *wold*, as explained by Biſhop Gibſon, is an extent of *plain*, *without* any wood. Thus the *wealds* of Kent are very different from the *wolds* of Yorkſhire. Mr. Forſter has therefore not without reaſon explained the *heath-fields* mentioned by King Alfred by *wolds*; wylte, Sax.

[u] Mr. Forſter ſeems to have read hæfeldan, (or hæþfeldan,) which indeed I find in the Junian MS. inſerted as a various reading by Dr. Marſhall. (MSS. IVN. 15.) It alſo occurs farther on in the MS. without any various reading; I have therefore inſerted it in the text. *Hercynia ſylva* ſeems to be derived from *erica*, heath; Erkenwald, or Erkenfeld, in the old German. *Heide* is now uſed in German to ſignify heath.

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guage ſignifies a *limit*, I ſuſpect the Carni were Sarmatians, and continued to live in theſe parts, till by length of time they were called Carni and Carinthi, and at laſt their name was changed into Carentani. This opinion may be further proved from the name of the Duchy of Crain, which lies next to Carinthia, and which preſerves the Sclavonic name of Crain, though it is called by the Latin writers Carniola. (Paul Warnefried, Hiſt. Longobard. l. vi. c. 12.) This country was always conſidered as the boundary of Pannonia, Germany, and Italy. Even in the latter ages there was here eſtabliſhed a Marquiſate of the Winedi, or, as it is commonly called, the *Windiſhe Marck*, i. e. Limes Venedicus, or Marchia Sclavonica. The Sclavonic nations frequently employed the word *Crain* for a limit; thus the *U-kraine* in Ruſſia ſerved as a barrier againſt the Tartars. In great Poland is a tract ſituated along the New-Mark of Brandenburg and Sileſia, called Kraina, becauſe it makes the limits towards the above countries: it is therefore highly probable, that the Carendre, or Sclavi Carentani, are derived from the ancient Carni, and had formerly the name of Crain, on account of their limitary ſituation. The Alps were no doubt the ſtrongeſt barriers for all nations; theſe begin in this part called Crain, and were called by Strabo and other writers Alpes Carnicæ.

[14] Bulgaria is well known in hiſtory and geography; it was ſituated upon the Danube, next to Dacia: this is the opinion of Eginhard, who relates, that in the year 824 an embaſſy came to Charlemagne from the Abotritæ, "qui vulgo Prædenecenti vocantur, et contermini Bulgaris Daciam Danubio adjacentem incolunt." The Bulgari had this name, becauſe they came originally from the river Volga: and it is well known, that about ſixty miles to the ſouth-weſt of the city of Kazan in Ruſſia, between the rivers Wolga, Kama, and Samara, is a place called Bulgarſk. The name of this nation is certainly derived from the river Wolga, beyond which the Bulgari or Wolgari lived; for ſo it ought to be ſpelled, becauſe the latter Greek writers pronounced the B like a W [x].

[x] In another part of the Saxon verſion King Alfred ſays, "Iliricos. þe we Pulgare hateþ; "the Illyrians, whom we call *Bulgarians*." Vid. Oroſ. lib. iii. c. 7. verſ. Ælfred.

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Bulgaria mentioned by our royal Geographer comprehends, no doubt, the country where now Moldavia and Bulgaria are, on both ſides of the Danube. I ſuſpect however that they had, about the time wherein King Ælfred wrote, occupied many parts of the country which the Avares formerly had in their poſſeſſion: for Charlemagne had ſo much weakened them, that their country was then reckoned a waſte, till in the year 893 the Madgiari, or the preſent Hungarians, united with the pitiful remains of the Avari, and erected a new kingdom. This at the ſame time is a proof of the time wherein King Ælfred drew up his geographical account: for as he ſtill mentions a deſert or waſte between the Carendre and the Bulgari, it muſt of courſe have been before 893, when the Hungarians made the firſt invaſion into Bulgaria and Pannonia: about fifty years before this, the Emperor Conſtantinus Porphyrogenita wrote his book *De adminiſtratione imperii*, which was in 843.

[15] Greece, which is mentioned here, ſignifies the Byzantine empire, and not ancient Greece: for of that our royal Author ſpeaks afterwards.

[16] Wiſleland is that part of Poland, which commonly goes by the name of Little Poland; for in this part of the country the river Viſtula takes its origin; which is called in German Weiſſel, Weichſel, or Weixel, and in Poliſh Wiſla: and the poſition of it to the eaſt of Moravia cannot be eaſily miſtaken.

[17] Datia comprehends the country which is now called Red Ruſſia, Tranſylvania, with the upper parts of Moldavia, and all Wallachia; and our Author takes notice, that all this formerly belonged to the Goths.

[18] Dalamenſæ are thoſe Sclavonians who formerly inhabited Sileſia, from Moravia as far as Glogau, along the river Oder, or Viadrus. Witekind of Corbey calls them Sclavi Dalamanti, and their country Dalamantia: ſome other writers call them Daleminci.

[19] The Surpè are thoſe Sclavonic tribes which were known by the name of Sclavi Sorabi or Soravi, Sorbi or Sorvi, who lived in Luſatia and Miſnia, and part of Brandenburg and Sileſia below Glogau; their capital was Soraw, a town which ſtill exiſts. Charlemagne conquered theſe Sorabi about 806, and they were afterwards under the controul of the *Dux Sorabici limitis.*

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tis. The Wendic language (a Sclavonian dialect) is ſtill ſpoken by the country people; the Bible is printed in this language, and divine ſervice performed in the ſame.

[20] The Syſelè are placed to the weſt of the Surpè. When King Ælfred mentions Wineda-land, he adds theſe words, "which men call Syſylè." There is no doubt that he means here the ſame country: but Wineda-land cannot be ſaid to be to the weſt of the Surpè, as it rather is to the north of it. The name Syſelè, or Syſylè, is very little known in hiſtory, unleſs this name be preſerved in the lately-publiſhed Obotritic monuments, where, on the ſacred Caduceus, fig. 23. a. the following Runic characters are engraved, viz. *Sheſil.* The Annales Fuldenſes mention, in the year 874, the revolt of the Sorbi and Siuſle; perhaps theſe latter may be our Syſelè [y].

[21] The Honithi our royal Author places north of the Dalamenſæ. By their ſituation it appears that theſe Honithi are the inhabitants of Great Poland, who had their own dukes; but how King Ælfred got this name of Honithi is altogether unaccountable [z].

[22] Mægthaland our royal Geographer places to the north of Honithi, or Great Poland, where formerly the Duchy of Mazovia was ſituated. It was then ſubject to ſovereign princes, who took the title of Dukes. This coun-

[y] I ſuſpect, that the ſ and l in this word have changed places, as they have a great reſemblance to each other in manuſcripts; and that we ought to read Sylyſæ, or Syleſæ, the SILESIANS! Sileſia, it muſt be remembered, formerly occupied a much larger ſpace on the map of Europe than it does at preſent. A ſimilar error appears in the word *Siuſle* above.

[z] It is remarkable, that the word *is not to be found* either in the MSS. or even in the printed text of Mr. Barrington's edition, but in the tranſlation only! The Saxon p (r) being miſtaken for n, Horithi, Horiti, Horoti, have been invariably transformed into *Honithi*; ſo that, inſtead of expreſſing our ſurprize with Mr. Forſter, "how *King Ælfred* got this name of "Honithi," we may rather wonder, how Mr. Barrington or his printer got it! At ſome future time, perhaps, it may be as eaſy to identify the Horithi as the other nations mentioned by King Alfred. At preſent, it is with reluctance I offer a conjecture by no means ſatisfactory to myſelf; I ſuſpect, however, that Horithi is the error of a negligent ſcribe in the firſt inſtance, which has been faithfully retained by others. For, in two places out of three where the ſame word occurs, we find it written without the *h*. Perhaps, therefore, the Horili, or Heruli (called alſo Lemovii by Tacitus and others) may be here intended.

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try is called Magau or Mazawland in the ancient writers, and ſeems to be our Mægthaland.

[23] The Sermendè are, according to our royal Geographer, to the north of the Mazovians, and to the eaſt of Bornholm and Sweden, which is conſequently now Livonia, Eſtland, and part of Lithuania. In the beginning of this work it is ſaid, "that the Tanais takes its ſource from the northern "parts of the Riphæan mountains, which are near the ocean that men call "Sarmondiſca." It is pretty clear, that the Sarmondi muſt be the Sauromatæ; for the ancient geographers were of opinion, the Tanais took its ſource near the Riphæan mountains, in the country of the Sauromatæ, or Sarmatæ.

[24] The North Denè, our Author ſays, lived both on the continent and on the iſlands; conſequently it hence evidently appears, that the North Denè not only were ſettled in North Jutland, but alſo in the iſles of Fyhnen, Sealand, Langland, Læland, and Falſter [a].

[25] The Oſt-Sea is here, according to our Author, that arm of the ſea which ſurrounds Jutland on its north ſide, the iſles above enumerated, and alſo the iſle of Bornholm; it waſhes beſides the ſhores of Pruſſia, Pomerania, and Meklenburg, and this very arm Ælfred extends even to the north of Sweden up in the Bothnic gulf [b]; conſequently it comprehends what we

[a] Mr. Forſter ſeems here to have confounded the *Northern* with the *Southern* Danes, between whom King Alfred makes an evident diſtinction. By the *Northern Danes* we are to underſtand thoſe who were then ſettled in the province ſince called *Halland*, and which now belongs to Sweden, as well as thoſe of North Jutland. By the *Southern Danes* are ſignified thoſe of South Jutland, with thoſe who were ſettled in Sealand, Sconey, Moen, Falſter, Læland, Langland, &c. &c. In the map of theſe territories by Ortelius we find the whole of the ſouth-weſtern coaſt of Sweden aſcribed to Denmark. Hence the name of Swe-den, the country of the Sweo-Denè. This conſideration will confirm a conjecture hereafter reſpecting the ſituations of Sciringes-heal and Æt-Hæthum, the moſt difficult to be aſcertained.

[b] Tacitus calls the whole ſea *Mare Suevicum*, (de Mor. German. c. 45.) the eaſtern arm of it was anciently called Sinus Venedicus, afterwards Finnicus, and to this day the Gulf of Finland. With reſpect to the propriety of the term *Eaſt* Sea, as applied to the Baltic, it was perhaps ſo called originally by the Northern nations, to diſtinguiſh it from the oppoſite ſea which waſhes the outer coaſt of Norway, and which Ohthere in the beginning of his Periplus calls the *Weſt* Sea. (See page 60.)

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call at preſent the Shager-rack, Catte-gat, the two Belts, the Sound, and the Baltic. The Germans have for the Baltic no other name than the Oſt-Sea, i. e. eaſt ſea, which fully proves that no other ſea can be underſtood: and though it ſeems that the name of Oſt-Sea hath ſome impropriety, becauſe it is to the north of Germany, it muſt be remarked, that the German nation, in the ninth century, was entirely excluded from this ſea by the Wenedi and other Sclavonic tribes, and had conſequently no notion of it: what they knew of it they learned from the Danes, who ſpoke the ſame language; now in regard to the Danes, this ſea certainly lies to the eaſt; it is therefore no wonder they adopted from them this name of Oſt-Sea. However, it is remarkable, that even the arm which is between Norway and Denmark is called by our Author the Oſt-Sea; which obſervation will be uſeful in clearing up ſome other geographical points. As the great ocean alſo between Britain and Norway, Denmark and Frieſland, is called the North Sea, in reſpect to this ſea the arm between Norway and Jutland may juſtly be called Oſt-ſea.

[25] The Oſti are undoubtedly the ſame nation that is afterwards called by Wulfſtan the Eſti; they lived, according to the ſame navigator, eaſt of the mouth of the Weiſſel, or Viſtula, along the Baltic. Tacitus mentions the Æſtii in the ſame place; and King Theodoric (ap. Caſſiodor.) calls them by the ſame name [c]. It ſeems they obtained it from the Danes and other Teutonic tribes, becauſe they lived eaſt of the Viſtula, the boundary of Germany in the time of Tacitus. When the Hanſeatic league exiſted, thoſe wealthy merchants eſtabliſhed their factories in Livonia, and even in great Novogorod in Ruſſia; they called alſo the nations living in theſe countries the Oſterlings, i. e. the Eaſterlings, and the country itſelf Eſtland, or Eaſtland: whence the northernmoſt part of Livonia ſtill bears the name of Eſtland [d].

[c] They are alſo mentioned by Eginhard, (c. 12.) under the appellation of Aiſti: Tacitus deſcribes them as living on the eaſtern ſhore of the Mare Suevicum, now the Baltic; what he remarks of their language, that it reſembled the *Britiſh*, then perhaps nearly the ſame with the *Cimbric*, is curious: "ritus habituſque Suevorum; *lingua Britannicæ propior*." c. 45.

[d] That ſmall part of this large territory which now remains under a ſimilar appellation, is generally called Eſtonia, latinized from Eſtland, as Liffland is converted into Livonia, Ingerland

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[27] The Burgundæ were formerly a nation living in the north of Germany, mentioned by Pliny, (l. iii. c. 28.) belonging to the Wandali, or Vindali. This nation was afterwards defeated by the Goths, and perhaps part of the nation retired for safety into the isle of Bornholm; another part settled near the river Saal in Germany, and had with the Alemanni frequent feuds and contests about the *salt-wells* (Amm. Marcell. i. 28.) Those in the isle gave their name to it, and it was constantly called Burgunda-holm, i. e. the isle of the Burgundians; from which Bor'nholm is a mere contraction. Wulfstan in his account afterwards calls it Burgenda-land; and mentions that its inhabitants had a king of their own [e].

[28] The Sweon are the SVEONES or SVIONES of Tacitus [f], (de morib. Germ. c. 44.) who, according to that writer, *lived in the ocean*, and had ships, either end of which they used occasionally, and were subject to a king. They occur likewise in Eginhard (in vita Karoli Magni,) and in Adamus Bremensis. Jornandes calls them Swethans, and says, they send to Rome *saphilinas pelles*, remarkable for their fine blackness; he means, I suppose, sable skins, *saphilinas pelles* being barbarous Latin.

[29] The Scride-Finnas are the same with the Finnas, likewise mentioned by Ohthere. Jornandes mentions (de reb. Get. p. 611.) the Crefennæ, which no doubt is used instead of Scredefennæ; or, as Procopius (Hist. Goth. lib. ii. p. 261.) calls them, Scritifinni. Paul Warnefried expressly mentions, they were thus called, "a saliendo, juxta linguam *barbaram*. "Saltibus enim utentes, arte quadam ligno incurvo, ad arcus similitudinem,

land into Ingria, the Lettowe of Chaucer into Lithuania, &c. &c. Estonia is situated along the eastern shore of the Baltic, having the gulf of Finland to the north; and there is only the province of Ingria between this country and the city of Petersburg, the modern metropolis of Russia.

[e] In fact, in whatever part of Europe they were fixed, they had their name from living in *burgs, boroughs*, or towns, in a more *settled* manner than the Suevians, the Vandals, &c. Burgo-woners, in Saxon Burg-wuniendas, or Burgendas, were easily converted by the Romans into Burgundæ, Burgendæ, and Burgundiones. Hence the modern name of Burgundy in France, as well as that of Burgenda-holm, or Bor'nholm, in the Baltic.

[f] The ancestors of the Swedes, who call their country and their language to this day *Swenska*, i. e. *Sweonish*. The name of *Sweden* appears to have been given to this country from its being inhabited by a mixed race of Sweon and Dene.

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" feras aſſequuntur :" and Adamus Bremenſis ſays, " between Nordmannia " and Svennia the Warmelani and Finnedi live, as alſo ſome other na- " tions. Upon the limits between the Sveons and Nordmans, towards the " north, live the Scritefinni, who are ſaid to overtake wild beaſts by run- " ning; their capital is Halſingaland. In Sweden, to the weſt, are the " Gothi, and the city of Scarane; to the north, are the Wermilani, with " the Scritefinni, whoſe capital is Halſingaland. To the ſouth is the Bal- " tic, and the city of Siſtona." Thus we learn, from the deſcription of Adamus Bremenſis, the Wermilani were the neighbours of the Scritefinni. By caſting our eyes on the map of Sweden, we find between Norway and Gothia the province of Warmeland, and to the eaſt of this is Helſingland, or Helſingen: it therefore is eaſy to collect from thence, that the Scredefinnæ of King Alfred are the ſame Finnas whom Othere mentions as inhabiting the moors to the eaſtward of Northmannaland, and oppoſite this land, to the ſouth, he places Sweoland; which perfectly agrees with the account of Adamus Bremenſis.

Ter-fennaland is the deſert or waſte to the north of Northmannaland, and of the country where the Finnas were ſettled, near Hælſingland [g].

30. The Beormas are a nation living eaſt of the river Dwina, near the White Sea. The northern writers frequently mention the Biarmians, and the Normans and Sveons had much intercourſe with them; which was very eaſy by the Newa, that communicates with the Ladoga Lake [h].

[g] The firſt ſyllable of the name of *Ter*-fenna-land is ſtill preſerved, perhaps, in the modern appellation of *Torne*, or Tornea, applied to the river, the town, and the diſtrict of that name, in Lapland. Fenna-land, Fen-land, or Finland, is now called Finmark; Terfinnaland, therefore, probably comprehended both Finmark and Tornea-Lapmark, together with the whole of that *fenny* diſtrict, now called Pitea-Lapmark, from which the Finnas, or Fennas, originally received their name. A ſimilar diſtrict on the other ſide of the gulf of Bothnia ſtill retains the name of Finland for the ſame reaſon: whence alſo the gulf of Finland, ſinus Finnicus, vel Venedicus. The ancient Fenneti, or Heneti, of Livy, the Winedas of King Alfred, &c. as well as the Veneti, whoſe deſcendants founded the republic of Venice, were ſo called originally, in like manner, from their ſituation amidſt *feni*, lakes, marſhes, and moraſſes. From an inattention to the real meaning of names has ariſen a vaſt deal of error, fable, and confuſion, reſpecting the early hiſtory of all nations.

[h] Perhaps they have left the remnant of their name in the Ruſſian province of Permia, or

 Bermia,

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[31] Cwen-land; as we have ſtated the ſituation of this country before [i], I ſhall only add, that the name Cwenæ, perhaps, is preſerved in Cayaneburgh, a town in the eaſtern parts of Finland, where Cwenland was.

[32] Sciringes-heal ſeems to be the ſame place which is mentioned by Paulus Warnefried (Hiſt. Longob. l. i. c. 7.) by the name of Scoringa, whither the Winili or Longobardi, when they emigrated from Scandinavia, firſt went: it was in the neighbourhood of the Wandals.

Scoringa was near the place where now the province of Upland is; for it was not far from Gotland: and Ohthere ſays, Sciringes-heal is due NORTH [k]

Bermia, in the town of Permſki, or Berma-weliki, the capital of that province, and in the diſtrict of Warmia in Poland. Biarmia occurs in many old maps on both ſides of the White Sea; and it is not improbable, that the name of Wearme-land in Sweden is derived from a branch of this people. See the romantic hiſtory of Hialmar, King of Biarm-land and Thule-mark, printed at Stockholm from an ancient Runic MS. and accompanied with a Latin tranſlation, by J. Peringſkiold; republiſhed by Dr. Hickes in his Theſaurus. (Diſſ. Epiſt. p. 123.) For the honour of Peringſkiold, this paſſage in the Periplus of Ohthere contradicts the following opinion, expreſſed in a note to Shelton's Tranſlation of Wotton's *Conſpectus Theſauri Hickeſiani*, &c. "As to the names *Biarmlandia* and *Thule-markia*, ſays the writer, "ſince "the whole hiſtory itſelf is *fabulous*, and valuable only for preſerving ſo much of the Iſlandic "language, ſo I take theſe names to be *invented by the writer of it*, and not to admit of ex-"planatory notes!" (Second Edition, p. 65.)

[i] Sub initium. Vide pp. 93—96. The whole diſtrict is ſometimes called Caiania.

[k] Here appears to be a material error, which has produced a vaſt deal of confuſion and contradiction. The word norþwæge, or norþwege, occurs in the original; which being found in ſome MSS. written without any kind of punctuation after it, and beginning with a *ſmall* letter inſtead of a *capital*, as uſual in old MSS. the name of NORWAY, a diſtinct territory of *Northmannaland*, has been entirely overlooked by the tranſcribers and editors! Now, in the firſt place, ſo far is Ohthere from deſcribing Sciringes-heal to be due *north* of Helgoland, as Mr. Forſter tells us, that he twice informs King Alfred expreſsly, that there were *no inhabitants* ſettled to the *north* of him; but, he adds, there is a port (which implies inhabitants) to the *ſouth* of the land, that men call *Sciringes-heal*. In the next place, to read, "ealne weg "on þæt bæcbord norþwege bi ſuþan þone Sciringes-heal," i. e. "all the way on the larboard "northway by ſouth," &c. is to confound nearly all the cardinal points of the compaſs! (See the note on At-Hæthum.) It is manifeſt therefore, that we muſt look for Sciringes-heal, i. e. the port of Skiring, or Skeren, not to the *north* of this land, but in the *ſouthern* part of Northmannaland itſelf; conſequently, if we fix on the port of SKE'EN, oppoſite the northern part of Jutland, in lat. 59°. 15'. we ſhall be able to follow the track deſcribed by Ohthere with-

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of Helgoland; and to the ſouth of this port is a vaſt *bay* which no one can ſee acroſs, but that Gotland is oppoſite, conſequently Sciringes-heal muſt be the Scoringa of Paul Warnefried. *The only difficulty in adopting this ſituation is the diſtance from Helgoland, which Ohthere ſays to be a full month's continued ſailing*; but it is eaſy to account for that; when Ohthere ſailed to the Cwen-ſea and the Beormas, he took his courſe in the open ſea, though in ſight of land, but here he went cloſe to the ſhore; and, as the ſhores of Oſt Gothland and Upland are ſo full of rocks[1], we may eaſily think, *what a dangerous and therefore tedious navigation it muſt have been, in this labyrinth of rocks, without charts, without compaſs, without pilots, or*

without the leaſt difficulty. Thoſe alſo who recollect the proceſs by which *Kining* in our language has been contracted into *King*, &c. will not wonder that Skiring, or Skeren, ſhould be now written Ske'en.

With reſpect to the next port, called At-Hæthum, i. e. a port by the *heaths*, afterwards changed into *Haithaby*, and called to this day *Haddeby*, it is ſituated on the ſouth ſide of the river *Schle*, oppoſite to *Schleſwig*, which having ſince become of greater importance, has eclipſed the fame of its ancient rival. Hence Sir J. Spelman, Somner, Lye, and others, following the authority of Ethelwerd, a Saxon writer, have conſidered At-Hæthum, or *Haddeby*, to be the ſame with *Schleſwig*.

This port, before the Angles, Jutes, and Saxons came into Britain, was the capital of OLD ENGLAND, or Angle-land; but when Ohthere and Wulfſtan performed their navigations it belonged to the Danes, who appear to have penetrated farther ſouth after this great emigration, and to have occupied the vacant ſeats of the ancient inhabitants; thoſe few that remained being eaſily conquered, and amalgamated with the Southern Danes, whilſt ſome of the North Denè or Sweo-Denè in their turn have been incorporated into the independent kingdom of Sweden. Jutland, properly written *Gotland* in the time of King Alfred, ſtill retains its ancient name, derived unqueſtionably from that branch of *Gothic* ſettlers who firſt peopled the Cimbric Cherſoneſe. Mr. Forſter ſeems not to have diſtinguiſhed accurately between the iſle of Gothland, or Gotland, and the peninſula of Jutland. This miſtake, I imagine, together with that of all the editors, of underſtanding NORÞWEGE, the Saxon appellation of NORWAY, to ſignify *northward*, led him to conſider Sciringes-heal to be the modern port of STOCKHOLM. As I have had occaſion in this inſtance to differ ſo widely from Mr. Forſter, in illuſtrating the navigation of the Baltic in the ninth century, if my labours ſhould happily be rewarded by public approbation, I hope, on ſome future occaſion, to publiſh the whole of Alfred's geography, accompanied with accurate maps.

[1] So alſo are thoſe of Norway, which may account for the length of the voyage from Halgoland to the port of *Ske'en*. See the different ſignifications of the word *wicode*, not. in loc.

any

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any of these helps, which make our voyages more expeditious and less dangerous!

[33] Iraland is no doubt here Scotland, which shews, how unsettled these countries must have been; and that they were mutually peopled from each other [m].

[34] At-Hæthum has commonly been thought to be the port of Sleswick, for thus Sir John Spelman translates it; but if we examine the course of Wulfstan from At-Heathum to Ilfing, we may be soon convinced how impossible it is to be Sleswick; for when he sailed from Heathum he had Weonodland to his right hand, and Langland, Læland, Falster, and Sconey, or Scania, to his left, which cannot happen in sailing from Sleswick to Elbing, and the mouth of the Vistula. It must therefore be some port beyond the Belt in Jutland; where it will make part of the Denè, and be situated between Winedum, or the Venedi, the Saxons, and the Angles.

[35] Truso seems to have been a town on the banks of the river Ilfing. There is a lake, from which the river Elbing in Prussia takes its source, that is called Drausen or Druſen by the common people. Upon the banks of this lake, I suspect, the town of Truso or Druso formerly stood [n].

[36] Denemarca. Mark signifies country [o] in the old Northern languages: Denemark is therefore the country of the Danes; Finmark, the country of the Finni. ÆLFRED IS THE MOST EARLY WRITER HITHERTO KNOWN, WHO MENTIONS THIS NAME.

[37] Blecinga is called an isle [p]; but as there are none between Bornholm and Oeland, it must be rather Bleckingen.

[m] *Ireland* is generally called *Scotland* by the writers of the middle ages; but I do not recollect an instance in which our modern Scotland is called Ireland. I have therefore humbly proposed the reading of Ifaland for Iraland. Vid. not. in loc.

[n] Wulfstan says expressly, that Truso stood on the banks of that *mere*, or *lake*, from which the Ilfing flowed; but the passage is *omitted* by Mr. Barrington in his translation.

[o] In its first sense, a boundary, land-*mark*, or division, between the possessions of different persons or nations. Hence the German titles of Margrave and Margravine, as well as the English Marquis and Marchioness, originally signifying the guardians of boundaries, or *marches*. The word *maar*, from mearc, or mærc, Sax. is still used in many parts of England for a boundary or division between the lands of different persons.

[p] It is merely called Blecinga-eg, as Scania is called Scóneg; the word eg, ega, *aqua*, e'a, *eau*,

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[38] Meore [q] ſeems to be comprehended in the diſtricts, which now are called Suder and Norder Moehre, in the province of Smaland: Mauringa [r], mentioned by Paul Warnefried (de geſt. Langob. l. i. c. 11.) as one of the ſtations of the Langobardi on their march ſouthwards, is very probably this Meore.

[39] Eowland is clearly the ſame with Oeland; and is one of the moſt fertile and agreeable iſlands of the Baltic [s].

[40] Gotland has unalterably kept its name to the preſent time; and is famous for having been the conſtant rendezvous of the northern heroes, before they went on their marine excurſions.

[41] Wiſle is the Weixel, Weichſel, or Weiſſel, called by the Poles Wiſla, and by the Latin writers, Viſtula. Jornandes (de reb. Get. c. 3.) deſcribes this river extremely well; ſaying of Scancia: "Hæc a fronte poſita eſt "Viſtulæ fluvii: qui Sarmaticis montibus ortus, in conſpectu Scanziæ "ſeptentrionali oceano triſulcus illabitur:" for this river has really three arms; the weſternmoſt is near Dantzig; the two eaſternmoſt branches enter a large lake of *freſh* water, called Friſh-Haff: it is about eighteen German miles long, and in ſome places three German miles broad, (or ninety Engliſh miles long, and fifteen Engliſh miles broad).

eau, Fr. ſignifies *water*; conſequently ealand, or iland, is the ſame with *water-land*, and is applied ſometimes to a *peninſula*, as well as to an *iſland*; hence the *iſles* of Purbeck, Portland, &c. each of which is a peninſula. Neither the French word *iſle*, from inſula, *ylda*, Ital. nor *iſland*, corruptly ſo written for *iland*, abſolutely ſignifies, in its proper ſenſe, land *totally ſurrounded* with water.

[q] The penetrating ſagacity of Mr. Forſter has appropriated the geographical ſituation of this territory, notwithſtanding the confuſion occaſioned by reading *Meroe* inſtead of *Meore*!

[r] MAURINGE appears in Olaus Rudbek's Atlantica, Tab. II. fig. 2. In a deſcription of the limits of Denmark and Sweden in an old Runic MS. publiſhed by Wormius, one of the ſtones for marking the boundaries is ſaid to have been placed between BLEKING and MORE, "MILLAN BLEKING OG MORE." Reg. Dan. p. 29. The name is ſtill preſerved in the laſt ſyllable of the town and territory of CALMAR, oppoſite to the iſle of Oeland.

[s] It is very long and narrow; extending from lat. 56°. 30'. N. to lat. 57°. 40'. Yet, though 70 miles in length, it is not more than 20 in breadth in the wideſt part. It lies almoſt oppoſite to the iſle of Gothland, or Gotland, which is mentioned immediately after.

[42] Eſt-

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[42] Eſt-mere is the Friſh-Haff above mentioned, which is connected with the Baltic by a mouth opening near Pillau [t].

[43] Weonodland is the iſle of Fynen, or, as the Danes call it, Fy'en, and in Latin Fionia [u].

[44] The Waſcan. Thus Ælfred calls the people of Gaſcogne, or the Gaſcoins; which is a clear proof of the different pronunciation between the Celtic, or Gallic, and the Teutonic tribes. Thus William is changed by the French into Guillaume; and the family of the Welfi are the Guelfs of the Italian and French writers [x].

[45] Profent and Profent-ſea are certainly corruptions of the Roman word *provincia*; for this part of Gaul was formerly the Provincia Galliæ, and is now called Provençe.

[t] This lake called by Wulfſtan *Eſtmere*, now the Friſh or Friſche Haff, is noticed by Pomponius Mela, under the appellation of Eſtia, as one of the *three* largeſt lakes in Germany. (De Situ Orbis, lib. iii. c. 3.) The oppoſite *Haff* to the north-eaſt is called the Curriſche-Haff.

[u] Called by the French Geographers, "Iſle de Fionie." But it is impoſſible that Wulfſtan could mean the iſle of Fynen in this place; for he had ſaid before, that Weonodland was *all the way* on the RIGHT hand even to the mouth of the Viſtula, now called *Weiſſel-munde*; whereas Fynen was undoubtedly on the LEFT. He alſo deſcribes the *Viſtula* as flowing out of Weonodland (or Winodland) into Eaſtmere, now called the *Friſh-Haff*. I imagine, therefore, we are to underſtand the whole of the ſouthern coaſt of the Baltic, formerly inhabited by the Venedic tribes, ſome of the deſcendants of whom now occupy the Duchy of *Wenden*. In the geography of Ortelius, (1584.) there is a town called Wineta ſouth eaſt of the iſle of Rugen. Theſe Venedic tribes were anciently ſo numerous, that from them a part of the Baltic was called *Mare Venedicum*, and the gulf of Finland was called Sinus Venedicus, as well as Finnicus. Mr. Forſter had made the ſame miſtake before, p. 110.

[x] An attention to the guttural prefix *ge*, common to all rude languages, but almoſt obliterated in the progreſs of refinement, will ſerve to explain theſe varieties of orthography and pronunciation, and contribute to aſſimilate all the languages of Europe. William is not *changed by the French* into Guillaume, for Gild-helm is the original word, which is both Frankiſh and Saxon. With reſpect to the Welfi or G'uelfs here mentioned, they were the progenitors of the illuſtrious family now on the throne of England; whoſe hiſtory, ſucceſſively illuſtrated by the labours of Leibnitz, Echard, Gruber, and Scheidius, amounts to four handſome volumes in folio, entitled, ORIGENES GUELFICÆ, Hanov. 1750, 1751.

THE END.

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